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## Summit opening amid dissension

STEVE RODAN  
CAIRO

At least 10 heads of state are expected to arrive here today to attend the first Arab League summit in six years, a parity that Syria hopes will end with a decision to reinstate the Arab boycott.

But Arab diplomatic sources said the absence of as many as nine heads of state reflects the deep divisions over the priorities of the summit. Egypt and Syria, they said, are trying to focus the gathering on the new government of Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu and its closing of relations with Turkey.

The pro-government Egyptian dailies have stepped up their attacks on Israel, calling for a united Arab front against the Netanyahu government. The *Al-Ahram* daily yesterday said Arab leaders must recognize that "The future of the Arab nation will be shaken unless the Arab leaders promptly put the Arab home in order to ensure a consensus vis-a-vis Israel fanaticism and arrogance."

An Egyptian official said Egypt, Syria, and Saudi Arabia agreed on a draft resolution linking Israeli-Arab normalization to progress in the peace talks.

But Jordan and the Gulf states, backed by the US, want a discussion on state-sponsored terrorism. This includes alleged Syrian support of terrorists operating in Jordan, as well as unrest in the Gulf directed by Damascus's non-Arab ally, Iran. (Story, Page 3)

"We have to have a strategy setting out as a priority that a brother must protect a brother and not have to protect himself from him," said Jordanian Foreign Minister Abdul Karim Kabariti.

So far, the heads of Morocco, Tunisia, Libya, Saudi Arabia and those of most of the Gulf states have informed Egypt they will not attend the summit. Iraq was not invited.

The first head of state to arrive was the emir of Bahrain, who was greeted by Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak and a military



Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak escorts the emir of Bahrain, Sheikh Isa Bin Suleiman Khalifa, down the red carpet upon his arrival in Cairo for tomorrow's Arab summit. (Reuters)

band playing a waltz by Strauss.

Arab League Secretary-General Esmat Abdel-Meguid said the summit hopes to send a message the Arabs will not accept just any solution, but one that is based on land for peace.

"Israel should understand that it is not doing us any favors by accepting a peace settlement," Abdel-Meguid told the Egyptian weekly *Al-Mussawar*.

Syria and Egypt are also trying to place the Turkish-Israeli military cooperation high on the summit's agenda. The Turks have been holding naval maneuvers in the eastern Mediterranean.

## US seeks to soften outcome of Arab summit

DAVID MAKOVSKY

US Secretary of State Warren Christopher sent private messages to Arab leaders this week, urging them to moderate the outcome of the Cairo summit, so as to give the Netanyahu government a chance to continue the peace process, US officials said.

Christopher assured Arab leaders that he will be seeking to advance the peace process at meetings with Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu and Arab leaders on his visit to the region next week.

Israel is indeed hoping the US will soften the impact of the summit and make sure the headline Syrian position does not prevail, whereby Arab normalization with Israel would be frozen.

Arab analysts say the pivotal players in shaping the outcome of the summit will likely be Egypt and Saudi Arabia.

Just as the US is concerned about the outcome of the summit, it is also concerned that the Netanyahu government maintain

a dialogue with the Palestinians. Christopher is expected to focus on this issue during his visit here on Tuesday.

"There needs to be a dialogue with the Palestinians, and the sooner the better. If Israel does not deal with the Palestinian track, things can go bad. It needs to be handled carefully," a key US official said.

Christopher will also be preparing Netanyahu's visit to the White House, which has been set for Tuesday, July 9. Congressional leaders have invited the prime minister to address a joint session of Congress the following day.

Meanwhile, Netanyahu indicated yesterday that Israel would honor international agreements, but seemed to hint that implementation of Oslo 2 will be contingent upon reciprocal moves by the Palestinians.

Arab officials have criticized the government guidelines

issued this week for including an expectation the PA would live up to its commitments, while not mentioning Israel's commitments.

Moreover, there was no mention of Palestinian Authority President Yasser Arafat in Netanyahu's Knesset remarks on Monday, while other Arab leaders were mentioned.

The Palestinians want to make sure Israel adheres to the Oslo 2 accord in general and, specifically, carry out the IDF withdrawal from Hebron that had been scheduled for March 28.

Israel, meanwhile, wants the Palestinians to fulfill security commitments, such as the extradition of terror suspects.

So far, Netanyahu has said only that he is studying the Hebron issue.

Speaking to the annual meeting of the World Zionist Organization yesterday, Netanyahu said, "Our position is that governments

(Continued on Page 20)

## 'IDF will redeploy in Hebron'

EVELYN GORDON and  
Jerusalem Post Staff

THE Netanyahu government will have the IDF redeploy in Hebron, a senior security source said yesterday.

He said the civil government headquarters in the center of the city, which symbolizes the occupation to local residents, would be vacated within several weeks. At the same time, the IDF forces protecting Jewish settlers in the city are to be reinforced.

Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai met yesterday with

security officials to discuss redeployment in Hebron. He is to visit the city next week.

Meanwhile, Jewish residents of Hebron may be willing to accept a compromise whereby the city would become part of Area B - with the IDF having overriding security authority, but with the Palestinians having autonomy in other areas, including their own

police force.

Attorney Elyakim Ha'etzni, who has traditionally been associated with the far right of the settlement movement, raised the compromise idea in an interview with Israel Radio yesterday.

The army, he said, must be in charge of security in the city, but at the same time, it does not particularly want the job of collecting Palestinian taxes or chasing Palestinian drug dealers.

(Continued on Page 20)

## Yeltsin sacks three top Kremlin hardliners

MOSCOW (Reuters) - President Boris Yeltsin, in a dramatic move following a bizarre overnight incident billed by liberals as an attempted coup, yesterday swept three top hawks out of the Kremlin, Russian news agencies said.

The three heads to roll were those of First Deputy Prime Minister Oleg Soskovets, Yeltsin's personal bodyguard Alexander Korzhakov, and state security chief Mikhail Barsukov.

The dismissals, coupled with the sacking on Tuesday of hard-line defense minister Pavel Grachev, meant that Yeltsin has effectively completed a purge of the top hawks in his entourage.

All four had been seen as pushing Yeltsin to take a hard line on many issues, especially pursuing the military crackdown in Chechnya, in which more than 30,000 people have been killed.

The sackings yesterday, following a session of Russia's Security Council chaired by Yeltsin, climaxed a night of drama in which two of Yeltsin's campaign workers were arrested and interrogated for 11 hours before being released.

Former economic reform chief Anatoly Chubais and NTV commercial television said the arrests of Sergei Lisovsky and Arkady

(Continued on Page 20)

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Beersheba	7:25	8:23
Eilat	7:21	8:26



# Peres: I'll lead Labor until primaries

FORMER prime minister Shimon Peres said yesterday that he will not resign as head of the Labor Party at this stage and will try to rehabilitate the party until its leadership primary, which he suggested holding in a year's time.

In his appearance before Labor's political bureau, which met to discuss the election results, Peres suggested setting up a shadow cabinet based on the British concept, to provide an alternative to the government and be a fighting opposition.

In a soul-searching speech analyzing the election, Peres stressed his responsibility, but noted that the Hamas and Islamic Jihad played a role in determining the election results.

He also admitted that he "was too influenced by the public opinion polls, which until almost the last day gave us a four to five percent advantage and dictated our behavior during the campaign. But on the last day there emerged previously unknown forces," an

MICHAL YUDELMAN

apparently reference to Habad and the settlers. Peres said "I may have lost the elections, but I did not lose the cause. Personally, from Dimona [where he founded the Nuclear Research Center] to Oslo, I have nothing to regret. We created a revolution which the nation will never forget. Perhaps I lost the elections because at times I went too far, too fast."

Peres revealed that his decision to advance the elections followed the realization that peace with Syria would not be achieved by the end of the year. "Both the Americans and the Syrians said, let's finish the negotiations and reach an agreement by November, and I agreed to wait until then before holding the elections. I sent a message to Syrian President Hafez Assad and said, 'if you really want to do it, you must come to the negotiations yourself. Let me know that you're serious and will meet me every week if necessary

until we reach an agreement," Peres said.

Assad agreed to meet him, but would not give a date, Peres said. "I knew then it would be a terrible mistake to enter an election campaign without knowing whether there is a partner or a plan."

Peres said he was never one to run away from responsibility and will therefore stay at Labor's helm to pull the party together.

"I don't blame anyone and demand nothing from anybody. It is clear to me that we need to change the party structure. After the results of the elections, we cannot return to what has been," he said.

Labor's leadership decided to appoint former Knesset speaker Shevah Weiss to head a committee charged with analyzing the election results and drawing the necessary conclusions. Another team headed by reserve general Menahem Eitan will be in charge of the structural changes in the party.



Shimon Peres spends a thoughtful moment at yesterday's Labor political bureau meeting in Tel Aviv, at which he announced he intends to remain chairman of the party for the coming year.

# Ne'eman to supervise creation of ministry for Sharon

SARAH HONG

PRIME Minister Binyamin Netanyahu yesterday appointed Justice Minister Ya'acov Ne'eman to deal with creating a new national infrastructure ministry for MK Ariel Sharon.

Sharon, who had already spoken to Ne'eman about the portfolio, yesterday sent him a brief on how the new ministry should be structured and how it should operate.

However, it is still unclear whether the ministers who must yield departments from their newly won ministries, so these may be stitched together to form a new super-ministry for Sharon, will be willing to do so.

The ministry Sharon envisions would have "contributions" from the Agriculture, Housing, Energy, and Transport ministries. However, Agriculture Minister Rafael Eitan (Ismet), Transport and Energy Minister Yitzhak Levy (National Religious Party), and soon-to-be-appointed deputy

housing minister Meir Porush have all vehemently refused to make any concessions and threatened to leave the government should their dominions be pared.

What seems certain is that the problem will not be resolved in a few days, as some around Netanyahu continue optimistically to claim.

A source close to Netanyahu argued yesterday that part of the blame for the sticky situation must be ascribed to "Sharon himself, because he did not take the Housing portfolio when it was offered him. He should have realized that there was nothing better to be had."

Some in the Likud charge that Netanyahu's right-hand man, Avigdor Lieberman, maneuvered things in such a way as to keep Sharon out, in part due to the very fact that he is so popular in the Likud and therefore a possible rival and/or troublemaker.

## Labor to probe possible election fraud

LABOR leaders announced yesterday they intend to examine the records of all 6,714 polling stations in last month's elections to check for evidence of voting fraud.

The announcement, made by Knesset members Nissim Zvili, Moshe Shahal, and Ra'anana Cohen at Labor's political bureau meeting yesterday, followed the party's filing suit in Jerusalem District Court on Wednesday, asking to cancel the election results on the basis of alleged forgery found in a check of dozens of polling stations.

Labor's Knesset faction chairman Ra'anana Cohen, who is also deputy chairman of the Central

MICHAL YUDELMAN

Elections Committee, said that in a sample audit he conducted in dozens of polling boxes, he discovered irregularities and forgeries. This requires that all the poll boxes be reexamined, he said.

If the findings in the sample polls repeat themselves throughout the country, these cases of forgery may have affected the election results, given the slim margin of Binyamin Netanyahu's victory over Shimon Peres, Cohen said.

Cohen said that in the days after the elections, he received reports from several polling stations

around the country that the number of ballots cast was larger than the number of voters registered for those polling stations.

The sample check he conducted in some 100 polling stations revealed that ballots had been cast in the name of voters who were abroad on election day, or who are deceased. In some places the final vote count was forged and in many others, the number of people registered as having voted did not correspond to the number of ballots actually cast there.

Cohen said that in Vered Yericho 104 people voted, while only 101 eligible voters are registered there. In Kfar Darom 86 people voted, while only 85 are registered as eligible voters. In Mishmar Ayalon, 302 ballots were cast, though there are only 274 eligible voters and in Netzarim there were 76 ballots, while there were only 70 eligible voters.

## Histadrut calls for token strike against privatization

MICHAL YUDELMAN

THE Histadrut yesterday fired the opening shot in its battle against the new government's privatization and budget cutback plans, which will likely lead to massive dismissals in the public sector, and declared a one-hour strike in 10 days' time.

At a meeting of labor union leaders representing tens of thousands of workers, Histadrut Chairman MK Amir Peretz warned Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu that "we take everything he says very seriously and will not sit around waiting to see where the bombs he throws in the air fall."

Peretz called on the unions to prepare to confront the government, beginning with its intention to privatize the Israel Broadcasting Authority.

Bank Leumi union chairman Louis Roth said "we are their cannon fodder; we are the raw material on whose backs they want to create an economy like this, or an economy like that. There is nothing easier than selling something which doesn't belong to you."

Peretz called on Netanyahu to instruct the director-general of the Prime Minister's Office, Avigdor Lieberman, to behave like a civil servant and not meddle in government policy.

Peretz was referring to Lieberman's statement that he intends to speed up the privatization of the IBA, which he called "a propaganda instrument of Labor." Lieberman also said he would move to replace IBA director-general Mordchai Kirschenbaum even before privatizing the authority.

Lieberman was quoted in Ma'ariv yesterday as saying, "we are not pleased with the political role played by the IBA during the elections. It was mobilized journalism. The broadcasters called to support Shimon Peres. The radio in Arabic called on people to go to the polls."

The report quoted Kirschenbaum as saying, in a lecture to Friends of the Weizmann Institute in Tel Aviv "the attack on us from [Communications Minister] Limor Livnat and others proved they don't understand the work of the IBA, which does not serve the government, but only reports on its actions."

In a sharp reaction to Lieberman's statement, Peretz said "it's first-class impertinence that a director of a ministry, who is a clerk, should act as though he determines policy. I think Netanyahu should shut Lieberman up as soon as possible."

## Netanyahu hailed at Habad rally

CORRECTION

Russia has postponed its decision whether to allow the Jewish Agency to continue operating in its territory and not as printed in the AP report yesterday.

THOUSANDS greeted Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu with cheers and standing ovations last night at a rally held by the Habad movement, marking both the second yahrzeit of Labavitcher Rebbe Menachem Mendel Schneerson and Netanyahu's electoral victory.

Foreign Minister David Levy, Labor and Social Affairs Minister Eli Yishai, Deputy Housing Minister Meir Porush, and other MKs also attended the event, held at the Yad Eliahu arena in Tel Aviv.

In his address, Netanyahu recalled a meeting he had with the rebbe eight years ago, in which, he said, the rebbe told him: "You will encounter many obstacles, but with the help of faith in the people of Israel, the Land of Israel, and love of fellow Jews, you will overcome the obstacles."

Yitzhak Cohen-Abaronov, the chairman of Habad Youth, called on Netanyahu not to pull out of Hebron or the Golan Heights.

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Tickets ending in 2 and 7 won NIS 10.

In yesterday's Mifal Hapayis daily Chance card draw, the lucky cards were the ace of spades, ace of hearts, eight of diamonds, and nine of clubs.

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# Syria, Jordan clash on eve of summit

DAMASCUS (Reuters) - Syria yesterday accused Jordan of trying to prevent this week-end's Arab summit from achieving its main goal of confronting Israel's new hardline leaders. It also criticized the US for asking Arab leaders not to set preconditions on negotiations with Israel.

Several Jordanian officials have said they wanted the issue of terrorism to be part of the summit's agenda, after Amman recently accused Damascus of backing some abortive attacks in Jordan. But Syria's official press strongly rejected the charges and challenged Jordan to produce evidence backing its claim. Jordanian Foreign Minister Abdul Karim Kabariti demanded that Arab leaders "discuss the issue of combating terrorism." He also said that if Syria criticized Jordan for ties with Israel, he would display a list of all the terror attacks committed by Syria against Jordan. The official daily *Tishreen* said changing the

agenda would divert Arab leaders from their main goal, which is to work out a unified response to Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's hardline approach to Middle East peace.

"While Arabs prepared to hold a summit in Cairo to revive Arab solidarity and counter the challenges posed by Israel's new anti-peace government, we hear more voices from Jordan repeating Israel's accusations of Syrian involvement in terrorism," the newspaper said. Syria also wants Arab leaders to reconsider normalization with Israel, its ambassador to Egypt said.

Arab officials said Syria would go further at the summit and propose the Arabs decide to freeze any further cooperation with Israel. "The Arabs should not give the occupier any privileges at the expense of the victim," Syrian Ambassador Issa Darwish told Reuters in an interview as the first heads of state arrived.

"The idea of normalization with Israel as a confidence-building measure was premature... The normalization process should be a product of the peace process."

Darwish said the summit would ask the US and Russia - the co-sponsors of the peace process - the international community and the Security Council to support Syria in pressuring Israel for peace based on a withdrawal from occupied Arab territory.

"This Arab summit is not to declare war and obstruct peace, but to demonstrate our unchanging fundamental positions for a just and comprehensive peace," Darwish said.

"But it is our duty - all of us who accepted peace as a strategic option - to reconsider the position of the other party and to ask the sponsors of the peace process and the Security Council to oblige Israel to honor its commitments, otherwise there will be tension in the region which is not beneficial for anybody."

HIZBULLAH spiritual leader Sheikh Mohammed Hussein Fadlallah is calling on residents of the security zone to stage an "intifada" in the region, according to Lebanese media reports.

Lebanese newspapers and radio stations said Fadlallah made the call in a sermon earlier this week in Beirut.

"We know all about the pressure the Israelis put on the sons of the security zone, but the time has come to launch a well-planned and studied popular uprising - an intifada," Fadlallah was quoted as saying.

"I underline the words well-planned and studied. It has to be well planned because until now Israel has exploited the popular silence."

Fadlallah, quite apart from his role as spiritual leader of Hizbullah, is recognized in the Lebanese and even the international Moslem Shi'ite community as a leading scholar and cleric.

# Hizbullah calls for 'intifada' in security zone

DAVID RUDGE

and his comments carry considerable weight.

He reportedly made the "intifada" call while teaching the Koran. It was not clear from the media reports whether or not it was meant as a *fatwa* (a religious edict).

In the past, Fadlallah has called on Shi'ite members of the South Lebanese Army to "repent and desert, or face the consequences of Hizbullah's long arm."

There have been no previous reports, however, of him urging Shi'ites, who compose around 65 percent of the nearly 200,000 people in the region, to launch an intifada.

Lebanese observers noted that if Fadlallah's call was meant as a *fatwa* it could have widespread repercussions. The call follows a recent wave of Hizbullah attacks in the zone, in which nine IDF soldiers were killed and 25

wounded.

There have been unconfirmed reports of increased collaboration lately between some residents of the zone and Hizbullah.

In other news, a Lebanese man accused of working for the Mossad was sentenced to death by a Lebanese court Wednesday night for carrying out a 1994 blast that killed three people in a Beirut suburb, Reuters reported.

The military court ruled in a retrial that Ahmad Hallak - who last year was sentenced in absentia to death for the blast - carried out the bombing on the orders of the Mossad.

Hallak, who fled to the security zone after the bombing, was snatched in February by Lebanese army intelligence agents, who drugged him and smuggled him out of the zone in the trunk of a car, security sources have said.

Under Lebanese law, people sentenced in absentia have the right to a retrial.

# Hamas leaflet offers cease-fire

Demands prisoner release

JON IMMANUEL

IZZADIN Kassam, the armed wing of Hamas, yesterday offered the new government a cease-fire if it agreed to end the closure of the territories, release Hamas prisoners, and stop pursuing Kassam activists.

A statement, issued in Gaza, said Kassam offered "to freeze all its military activity against Israel for a predetermined period that can be renewed according to our specific conditions."

It described the offer as "a golden opportunity... to avoid the pain of corpses and explosion, or would [Israel] be so foolish as to bring the entire area to war and bloody conflict."

Previously, Hamas has unofficially offered a total, renewable cease-fire only in return for a full withdrawal to the 1967 borders.

But the offer contains many holes. It offers a cease-fire, but also reserves the right to resume attacks as Kassam sees fit "for any crime conducted by the Israeli military or settlers or any violation of the above conditions."

The leaflet might not be authentic and, even if it is, Kassam may be divided into factions. Those who speak in its name today may not represent groups like "the Yibya Ayyash cells," which took responsibility for the February-March suicide bombings.

Nevertheless, several local Hamas leaders have spoken out against suicide attacks. No leaflets contradicting this one appeared yesterday, as they did in March after Kassam offered a three-month cease-fire at the urging of the Palestinian Authority.

This statement also appeared to be brokered by the PA, though Sufian Abu Zaide, head

of the PA's Israel desk, denied it.

The timing, immediately after the formation of the new government and just before the Arab summit, is especially useful to PA President Yasser Arafat. He needs to downplay the threat of terrorism to win wide support for a resolution dismissing Israel's stated security concerns as an evasion of the Oslo accords.

Arafat wants strong Arab backing to show Benjamin Netanyahu that "he has other alternatives," said his adviser Dr. Ahmed Tibi.

The leaflet had little of the pejorative terminology usually associated with Kassam leaflets, except its description of "Zionist terrorism" against Hamas, and the demands did not go beyond the general demands of the PA.

The statement "emphasizes the important role of the PA as a mediator between Hamas and the Israeli government," implying that only the PA is empowered to negotiate with Israel.

Since the first period of the renewable cease-fire was not stated, it left the matter open to mediation by the PA, thus opening indirect talks between Israel and Hamas. "We will not place any obstacle in the path of reaching a suitable period for the proposed truce," it said.

In exchange, the statement called on the PA to "open channels to let the Islamic Movement actively and powerfully participate in Palestinian political life."

# Iran reported offering to sign pact with Syria

DOUGLAS DAVIS LONDON

IRAN has offered to conclude a formal pact with Syria to offset the military agreement between Turkey and Israel, it was revealed yesterday.

The influential Arabic-language daily *al-Hayat* reported that the disclosure came from "foreign diplomatic sources," but *The Jerusalem Post* has learned that Iranian officials leaked the information to selected media with Syria's blessing.

Relations between Syria and Turkey have deteriorated sharply in recent months, with each side alleging the other has been conducting military build-ups on their common border. The deterioration has been caused by:

\* Syria's control of the Kurdish Workers' party (PKK), a far-left terrorist group, which enjoys

extensive training and logistical support from Damascus particularly, but also from Teheran, for its military operations against Turkey.

\* Syria's complaint that Turkey, which controls the headwaters of the Euphrates River, is reducing the flow of water to Syria, a downstream "client."

\* Syria's assertions that a military pact between Israel and Turkey - which allows Israel Air Force pilots to train in Turkish air space and use Turkish air bases - constitutes a military threat to both Damascus and Teheran.

Senior Middle East sources told the *Post* yesterday that the revelations of a formal Syrian-Iranian pact had far-reaching political - and, possibly, strategic - implications.

(Continued on Page 20)

# PA: Israel to allow Jews to pray on Temple Mount

BILL HUTMAN

THE government plans to allow Jewish worship on the Temple Mount, two senior Palestinian Authority figures charged this week.

Jerusalem's PA-appointed Mufti, Sheikh Akram Sabri, and the PA Minister for Religious Affairs, Hassan Tahboub, claimed a secret annex to the coalition agreements would allow Jewish worship on the Mount. They said the Mount is to have a weekly schedule for Jewish and Moslem worship, similar to the arrangement at the Machpela Cave in Hebron. They have reported this in the local Arabic press and to foreign diplomats.

A senior Jerusalem municipal official said the accusation was unfounded. The official accused Sabri and Tahboub of trying to incite Moslems by spreading this allegation, and others, about Israel's plans in Jerusalem.

Municipal officials have been in contact with the Wakf, the Moslem (Continued on Page 20)



A worker cleans paint off a memorial plaque to Mordechai Gur, who led the paratroop brigade that captured Jerusalem's Old City in the Six Day War. The plaque, near the Lions Gate, was desecrated for the second time yesterday. It was first desecrated shortly after it was dedicated on Jerusalem Day, and on Tuesday was covered with bars and glass to prevent a recurrence.

(Brian Hender)

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# Less cozy, more clear

PRIME Minister Netanyahu is preparing to visit the US. It should be clear to him that in light of the dangerous straits into which the Labor government has steered Israel, the policy he has promised to follow requires a thoroughgoing in-depth dialogue with President Clinton.

The US administration is aware of the fact that the PLO constitution - the Palestinian Covenant - is based essentially, indeed nearly exclusively, on the proclaimed and oft-repeated purpose of destroying the Jewish state and usurping its territory.

Obviously no sane and self-respecting government would enter into negotiations with an organization flaunting such a barbaric idea. True, the Rabin-Peres government did not refuse to negotiate with the PLO. But Rabin did demand the abrogation or the amendment of the document. Arafat obligingly promised this would be done; then lifted not a finger.

From that day on, we have had not one sign of abrogation of that document from Washington.

Throughout the following 33 months, during which the covenant was neither abolished nor "corrected" but kept as an inspiration to the Arab nation - while Arafat made a series of excuses and postponements; while slice after slice of territory was promised and indeed handed over to the autonomy by the Labor government; and while an eloquent Arafat ever more defiantly proclaimed to his people the certainty of the declaration of a Palestinian state with Jerusalem as its capital.

Would it not have been decent and proper of an "honest broker" to warn Israel against this rushing into so obvious a trap, let alone admonishing Arafat for maintaining the unspeakable covenant?

Should it not have occurred to the administration that the failure of the Palestinian Arab leadership to abolish or amend the document suggested very pointedly that its murderous purpose was so important that they were not prepared to pay even lip service to the idea of its abandonment?

There is worse to follow. After waiting more than two years (and having surrendered to Arafat elements of Israel's security) prime minister Rabin issued an ultimatum demand to Arafat:

## SHMUEL KATZ

Either within two months of convening the elected Palestinian Council you fulfill your undertaking regarding the covenant, or we halt the negotiations.

The only body entitled to make changes in the covenant, the Palestine National Council, duly met within the specified period. It did not abolish or amend the covenant. It announced that it would amend the clauses which violated the Oslo Agreement.

In effect it repeated, after nearly three years, no more than the original 1993 undertaking made by Arafat that the covenant remains in force until a "committee" decides which clauses are to be

**As things stand now the US cannot be an honest broker in Israel's conflict with the Palestinians**

amended. This slick declaration was at once welcomed by a Peres desperate for any sliver of "evidence" that Arafat had "changed;" then came the shocking declaration by the US State Department "confirming" Peres's enthusiastic revelation that the covenant had been amended.

Would it not have been more honorable and more expedient, for the sake of Mr. Clinton's own credibility at least, to tell the truth about Arafat - especially in light of the accumulating evidence from the PLO leader's calculated pronouncements that the practical plans for fulfillment of the covenant have already taken shape in his mind?

THE unpalatable truth underlying the American government's policy is that the US is not and cannot be an honest broker in the conflict.

On the crucial territorial issue its policy has always been just about identical with Arafat's first "phase": Israel's withdrawal to the 1949 Armistice lines, recognized by every serious observer as a "death trap" for Israel.

American policy makers have persuaded themselves that if Israel

gives the Arabs the high ground in Judea, Samaria and the Golan, the Arabs will welcome these topographical advantages by foregoing the next phase of Israel's destruction; and an attenuated Israel is expected to accept this childish prognosis.

Clinton came to office in 1992 after the Rabin-Peres-Aloni government was in place. It is doubtful whether he ever took an opportunity to discover the beliefs, principles and feelings of the fierce opposition to that government - an opposition representing more than half the total population of Israel and a substantial majority in the Jewish community. He must certainly be interested in doing so now.

Netanyahu is duty-bound to forgo the traditional patterns of coziness that have characterized reports of past meetings at the White House. He must assume that it is entirely possible that the president, depending for information and assessments from a notoriously one-sided State Department, is not adequately informed; and, difficult as it may seem, he must proffer Clinton a basic review in depth of US-Israel relations.

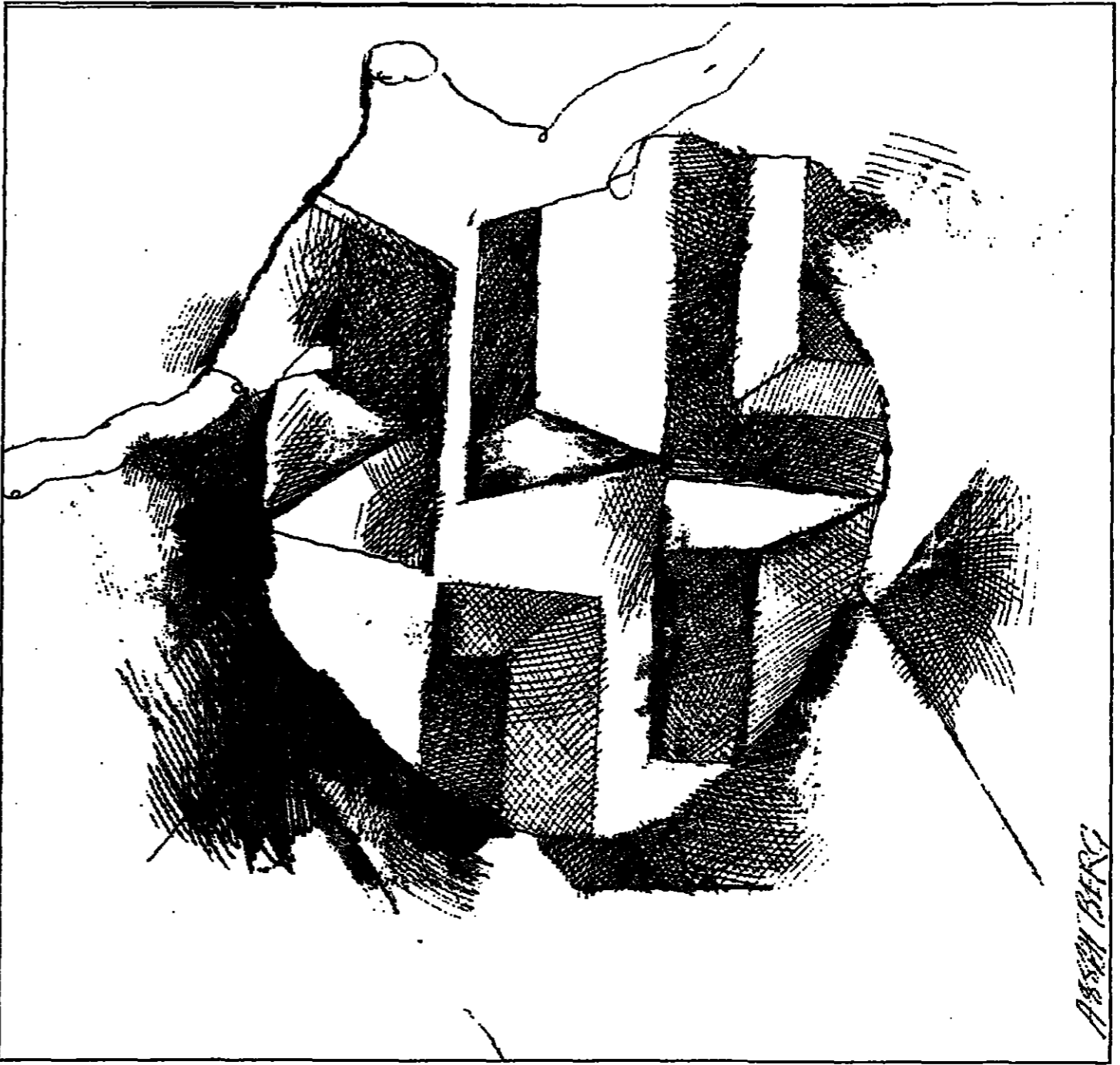
On this must rest his crucial message: that the Netanyahu government was not elected to ensure continuity with the philosophies of Peres and his colleagues; that its vision of the road to peace is quite different from theirs; that it rejects the idea that the peace process is to be seen as a succession of Israeli territorial surrenders culminating in a second Palestinian state (after Jordan). Autonomy is what was promised.

In the election campaign Netanyahu undertook to fulfill obligations - but only when the Palestinians recognizably replaced their covenant and put an end to their numerous violations in Jerusalem and elsewhere.

Those provisos will have to be met, and it is reasonable to expect active American support in their fulfillment, all in accordance with the high principles of American democracy.

That should make a good beginning for, perhaps, a new era in US-Israel relations.

*The writer's biography of Ze'ev Jabotinsky has just been published in English.*



# Hearts with many compartments

## DAVID HARTMAN

ONE of the myths that Jews carried with them into the modern world is that of being a united people. We love, for example, to sing, "Behold how good and pleasant it is for brothers to dwell together," and we pray, "... all of Israel are friends."

But prayer is prayer, and song is song.

And reality is reality. Despite our sense of shared historical fate and our emotional attachment to the myths of unity and friendship, the bitter truth is that the Jewish people is deeply divided. The arguments and disagreements among us are profound and divisive, sometimes vicious, occasionally deadly.

The election process our country has just gone through exposed deep-seated distrust and resentment between many groups in our society. One is viewed as the enemy of peace; the other as a threat to our historic destiny.

But all agree that fanaticism is the real threat to Jewish continuity. The right points to the secular hedonism of the left; the left to religious fundamentalism on the right.

Unfortunately, the spirit of delegitimation did not disappear with the assassination of Yitzhak Rabin. As the Bible shows repeatedly, Jews are a stiff-necked people who learn nothing from dramatic events.

The splitting of the Red Sea with all its pageantry and miracles

was followed immediately by a religious uprising against Moses. The account of the golden calf is a telling commentary on the religious efficacy of hearing God's voice at Sinai and witnessing a revelation more compelling than the prophetic visions of Ezekiel.

The message of the biblical story is that there are no quick solutions to complex human problems. Abraham Joshua Heschel

ter describes our hopes than our reality. Hatred and demonization have not been uprooted, let alone transformed.

EZEKIEL'S image that God will transform hearts of stone into hearts of flesh implies the futility of quick, overnight solutions to the dilemmas of human history.

When not totally skeptical of human efforts to change history,

peace with the Palestinian people is: Cultivate enormous patience together with the capacity to listen to and tolerate different points of view.

More than ever, we need sober political discourse. Our educational philosophy must counteract the hysteria and illogicality of trying to create consensus by delegitimizing differences of opinion.

We must teach our children that we can share a common text, yet understand its message differently; that differences of opinion can reflect genuine differences of interpretation and not necessarily obstinacy or malice.

Regarding the number of disagreements in the Talmud, the Tosefta advises: "Divide your heart into many rooms and compartments, so that different opinions may reside in different parts of your heart." In other words, conflicting voices can, and should, resound in one's soul.

Realizing this ideal is far from easy. For some it is unrealistic. Yet the educational process has to begin now, not tomorrow, not next year.

We must look the dangers of internal enmity squarely in the face, act sanely, and be mature.

*The writer heads the Shalom Hartman Institute in Jerusalem.*

**We must teach our children that differences of opinion can coexist without conflict**

# Minister with two masters

WOULD you hire a pedophile to tutor your children or a known embezzler to handle your company's finances? Or perhaps a convicted perjurer would make an ideal character witness?

If all these sound absurd, they couldn't be more absurd than the decision to combine the Environment Ministry with the Agriculture Ministry.

The Agriculture Ministry and environmental protection have been natural enemies for as long as both have existed. And there's no mystery why.

The aim of agriculture and the ministry devoted to it is to exploit natural resources such as land and water; the purpose of environmental protection is to preserve as

## D'VORA BEN SHAUL

been combined we are back to where we started - only worse off, since the environment is in a sorry state, and agricultural practices as recommended by the Ministry of Agriculture have played a hefty role in making it so.

Not that any agriculture minister I have ever known had any intention of harming the environment, far from it.

But when it came to a choice between what was best for the overall environment and what was thought to be best for the farmers, one doesn't need too much imagination to see which way the decision went.

For environmentalists wild animals are a treasure to be protected as much as possible, while to agriculturists they are a nuisance to be gotten rid of if one can.

How then will the minister of agriculture and environment balance his opinions and rulings?

Nature needs its own allotment of water to survive - but who can ask a man trying to serve two masters to decide which is the needier cause: more cotton, or a nature reserve?

UP UNTIL last year it was the Ministry of Agriculture that monitored our water supply; then it was taken over by the Environment Ministry.

Why? Because water is too precious to be treated lightly. The hundreds of more wells in the coastal plain that have had to be sealed owing to pollution mostly got that way because of improper agricultural practices - practices that were endorsed by the Ministry of Agriculture.

Even now the ministry is supposed to be monitoring food to detect pesticides, and supervising the use of pesticides in agriculture. But the monitoring is insufficient and badly organized, and supervision of pesticide usage exists mostly on paper.

Various organizations - especially the Environment Ministry - have found food products that

were licensed by the Ministry of Agriculture to be contaminated by pesticides supposed to be used on non-edible crops only.

In short, the Agriculture Ministry is no address for environmental protection.

I have nothing against Rafael Eitan as agriculture minister - in fact I think he might be very good at the job. But he certainly shouldn't be environment minister as well, and he shouldn't have been allowed to try and fill two positions involving such a clear conflict of interest.

I don't know what successes or failures lie along the road for this government. But I am certain that one of its first acts has been a terrible mistake, heralding potential disaster.

*The writer contributes an environmental column to The Jerusalem Post.*

**Putting Rafael Eitan in charge of agriculture and the environment is a scandal, a clear conflict of interest**

much as possible in an unexploited condition.

I wonder if our new prime minister is aware that up until the time the Environment Ministry was created in the late 1980s the Ministry of Agriculture was in charge of environmental issues for the most part, controlling as it did the Nature Reserves Authority, and (before the advent of the authority) even the hunting laws.

The express purpose of setting up the Nature Reserves Authority, the Environmental Protection Service, and, eventually, the Environment Ministry was chiefly to wrest some of this power away from agriculture, where the conflict of interest made it impossible for the same ministry to be objective enough to do what was best for both sides.

But now that the ministries have

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# US to veto second term for UN secretary-general

BARRY SCHWEID  
WASHINGTON

THE United States yesterday threatened to use its veto if necessary to bar Boutros-Ghali from a second term as secretary-general of the United Nations.

"I hope they will change their minds," Boutros-Ghali told reporters yesterday in Bonn before meeting President Roman Herzog of Germany, which like fellow European ally France has voiced strong support for the secretary-general.

In Washington, White House spokesman Mike McCurry, asked about a second five-year term for the Egyptian diplomat, said: "There is no possibility of that."

Does that mean the United States will use its veto?

"Yes," McCurry said. "Boutros-Ghali has taken this decision in view of the strong encouragement he has received from member states." UN spokesman Ahmad Fawzi announced.

The decision to oppose Boutros-Ghali pits the United States against stalwart opposition in the United Nations, likely including three of the five powers with Security Council vetoes. In addition to France, China and Russia probably would vote for Boutros-Ghali. The fifth veto belongs to Britain, which has been silent on the matter.

"After careful consideration,

President Clinton and the secretary of state have decided new leadership is needed in the United Nations," said State Department spokesman Nicholas Burns. "Based on that assessment, the United States will not support an extension of his term as secretary-general."

"We respect him as a very distinguished international public servant, and we wish him well," Burns said. "We think the time has come for a new leader."

He said Secretary of State Warren Christopher had conveyed the decision to Boutros-Ghali. In Bonn, German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel said the visiting secretary-general gave him the impression that "announcement of the Americans' rejection of a second candidacy" spurred him into making public his intention to run.

In Paris, the French Foreign Ministry said yesterday that it supports the secretary-general.

"We recognize very confidently and cordially the relations that have always existed between the secretary-general and Europe, and especially France," said ministry spokesman Jacques Rummelhard.

Administration spokesmen characterized the decision as strictly a move to bring better management to the world organization. (AP)



Racegoers enjoy Ladies Day at Royal Ascot, England, yesterday. Cold and wet replaced sunglasses on the traditional day when the most colorful and outrageous fashions are worn. It is one of the highlights of the British social season. (Reuters)

## N. Irish police warn of more IRA bombs

BELFAST (Reuters) - Northern Ireland's police chief warning Britain yesterday that an IRA bombing campaign might escalate and trigger a backlash by pro-British Loyalist guerrillas across the island of Ireland.

"I believe that it is possible that there will be further [IRA] attacks on the British mainland. I also believe it is possible that there will be attacks in Northern Ireland," Chief Constable Sir Hugh Annesley told a news conference.

He was speaking hours after IRA guerrillas fighting British rule of Northern Ireland claimed responsibility for a weekend bomb attack in Manchester, England, which wounded 200 and blew holes in a freight train.

Annesley, head of the Royal Ulster Constabulary, said that IRA violence in the province would spark tit-for-tat bombings by their Loyalist foes, battling to maintain British rule.

"If the provisionals were to

attack Northern Ireland there's no doubt whatsoever that there would be an immediate and without warning retaliatory action by Loyalist terrorists both within Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland," he said.

Loyalists, so-called because of their allegiance to the British crown, have stuck by a truce declared in October 1994, but the IRA went back to war in February with a London bomb attack that signaled the end of their truce.

Annesley's assessment was made as Britain and Ireland stepped up pressure on Sinn Fein to get its IRA guerrilla wing to call off a bombing campaign that was concentrated in London since February before being extended to Manchester.

Irish Prime Minister John Bruton demanded an immediate IRA truce and signaled that Sinn Fein President Gerry Adams had not gone far enough to distance himself from the guerrillas.

WASHINGTON (AP) - US Attorney General Janet Reno moved yesterday to turn the investigation of White House requests for FBI background files over to Whitewater prosecutor Kenneth Starr to avoid a conflict of interest.

In a brief written statement, Reno said Starr had agreed to accept the case if the special court which appointed him approves Reno's request.

"I have concluded it would constitute a conflict of interest for the Department of Justice itself to investigate the matter involving an interaction between the White House and the FBI, a component of the Department of Justice," Reno said.

The White House welcomed the

## India will not sign nuclear test ban treaty

NEW DELHI (Reuters) - India announced yesterday that it would not sign a global test ban treaty on the grounds the accord would fail to disarm the nuclear powers.

"India cannot subscribe to the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) in its present form," Foreign Secretary Salman Haider told a news conference in the capital of New Delhi.

But New Delhi said it would remain at negotiations in Geneva set to conclude next week, and would not try to block an agreement emerging from two and a half years of negotiations.

"There is no walkout in the talks," Haider said. "We are not in the position of trying to block this or block that."

All of India's main political parties oppose the current text of the treaty. They say it would not bind nuclear weapons states to a timetable for disarmament, leaving the threat of atomic war hanging over the world while barring India from developing its own nuclear weapons.

New Delhi views the CTBT

much as it did the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, which it refused to sign last year.

India considers the treaties to be discriminatory, saying they legitimize the possession of nuclear weapons by the five declared nuclear powers: Britain, China, France, Russia and the United States.

India exploded a nuclear device in 1974 but says it has not built any nuclear weapons. Western experts believe both India and Pakistan, which have fought three wars since 1947, could quickly assemble the bomb.

Earlier this month, Prime Minister H.D. Deve Gowda's new government announced it would retain the longstanding option to build nuclear weapons until global disarmament was achieved.

"Our nuclear option is part of our national security," Haider said. "We will not accept any constraints on our option as long as other countries remain unwilling to accept the obligation to eliminate their option within a time-bound framework."

## US attorney-general asks for special probe of White House FBI files

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"I have concluded it would constitute a conflict of interest for the Department of Justice itself to investigate the matter involving an interaction between the White House and the FBI, a component of the Department of Justice," Reno said.

The White House welcomed the

decision, saying Reno made it on her own. Press secretary Mike McCurry said the move should silence Republican critics who questioned the credibility of Reno and FBI director Louis Freeh.

"Hopefully, it will shut them up," he told reporters. McCurry said the White House would cooperate with Starr.

The affair involving some 400 files requested by the White House in the first two years of the Clinton administration, has erupted into a full-scale political clash with congressional hearings under way this week before a House of Representatives committee.

Congressional investigators are trying to determine whether the White House used some source of information other than a Secret Service list to generate its requests for FBI files.

Starr had advised Reno on Tuesday that he did not believe he had jurisdiction to continue his initial inquiry into the 1993-94 background files episode.

Reno then ordered the FBI to pick up where Starr had left off and complete the investigation. But Republican presidential candidate Bob Dole and Republicans in Congress immediately questioned whether the Justice Department and the FBI could conduct an independent investigation.

As a result, Reno announced yesterday that she would ask a special three-judge court, which appointed Starr in the Whitewater case, to expand his jurisdiction.

## Leading Moroccan Jew shot and wounded by gunmen

RABAT, Morocco (Reuters) - A prominent Moroccan Jew was shot and wounded by two gunmen who attacked him as he left his office in Casablanca, a spokesman for the Jewish community said yesterday.

Babi Azencot, a businessman and vice president of the Jewish community of Casablanca, was taken to hospital but was out of danger after Tuesday's attack, said Jewish community spokesman Henri Sibon.

The motive for the attack was not immediately known. Newspapers said two gunmen on a motorcycle opened fire on Azencot as he left his office in the financial city of Casablanca at 6:30 on Tuesday.

The official news agency MAP, which reported the attack yesterday, quoted members of Azencot's family as saying they did not believe the motive was religious but could have been a settling of scores by business rivals. Sibon said Azencot, who is in his 50s, had no known enemies and was a "religious man who is highly regarded."

## Accused Nazi abruptly flees US to Lithuania

News agencies

WASHINGTON - An accused Lithuanian security police chief linked to Nazi atrocities during the World War II has fled the United States and returned to Lithuania, the US Justice Department said on Wednesday.

It said the Lithuanian government confirmed the accused Nazi, Aleksandras Lileikis, arrived on Tuesday night in the capital of Vilnius, the city where he served during the war as chief of the Nazi-sponsored security police.

He left the country after a federal judge in Boston last month stripped Lileikis of his US citizenship and declared that "tens of thousands... died under his command."

Donald Stern, the US attorney in Boston, said Lileikis turned in his passport Tuesday and that he will be barred from returning to

the United States.

Lileikis, 88, came to the United States in 1955 from Germany, becoming a US citizen in 1976. Lileikis worked for a printing company and lived in Norwood, a town south of Boston, before fleeing the country.

During the war, 55,000 of the 60,000 Jews in Vilnius (Vilna) died. The Justice Department's Nazi-hunting Office of Special Investigations alleged that Lileikis was a central figure in the Nazi-directed annihilation of the Jews in Vilnius.

During a citizenship hearing last year, William H. Kenedy of the Justice Department's special investigations office presented photocopies of the "death cards" Lileikis allegedly signed.

Lileikis' attorney has said his client was following orders from his German superiors. Lileikis has refused to answer questions about his wartime activities, citing his US constitutional privilege against self-incrimination.

But at one point, he said the signatures on the death orders were forged.

The Simon Wiesenthal Center sent a letter to Lithuanian President Algirdas Brazauskas asking that Lileikis be tried as soon as possible.

"Every day that goes by with Lileikis a free man in your capital city is a stain on the national honor of Lithuania, a stain that no amount of words not backed up by deeds can ever erase," according to a letter signed by the center's director in Israel, Efraim Zuroff.

## Algerian ordered extradited to France for bombings

LONDON (Reuters) - A British magistrate yesterday ordered an Algerian to be extradited to France where he faces 23 charges in connection with a militant Islamic bombing campaign that killed seven people.

Rachid Ramda, 26, sat impassively in the high-security Belmarsh court as magistrate Nicholas Evans denied an appeal for bail, citing the seriousness of the charges.

His lawyer said Ramda will fight the extradition in the High Court. He has 15 days in which to appeal

against extradition to France, where he faces charges including conspiracy to murder and to cause explosions likely to endanger life and damage property.

French police blame militant Algerian Muslims for a spate of bombings which began in July 1995 and killed seven and injured another 170 people.

Algeria's Armed Islamic Group (GIA) claimed responsibility, accusing France of siding with Algeria's military government in a civil war against Moslem fundamentalists.

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In grief and mourning:

Her parents: **Yael and Dan Pattir**  
Her grandmother: **Prina Pahter**  
Her sisters: **Shally and Kobi Atsmon Sharon (Pattir) and Moshe Cohen**

Her nephews and niece **Noam, Eyal, Adi and Roni Atsmon**

The funeral will take place at the Yarkon cemetery today, Friday, June 21, 1996 at 12:00 noon

Shiva at the Pattir residence, 91 Haim Levanon St., Ramat Aviv, Tel Aviv

Our sincere condolences to  
**Dan Pattir**  
on the death of his daughter,

**GILI**

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will take place on Wednesday, June 26, 1996  
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For further details, call 02-618190

On the occasion of the thirtieth day after the passing of  
**CECILE KRAMER** 77  
We will meet at the graveside at Har Hamenuhot,  
Jerusalem on Tuesday, June 25, at 5:30 p.m.  
The Family

On the twentieth anniversary of the passing  
during Operation Yonatan at Entebbe of

**Lt. Col. YONATAN NETANYAHU**

a memorial service will be held on  
Sunday, June 23, 1996 (6 Tammuz 5756),  
at 5:30 p.m. at his grave  
in the Mount Herzl military cemetery, Jerusalem.

A bus from Tel Aviv to Mount Herzl will depart from  
Sderot Tarsat (between Habimah and the Helena  
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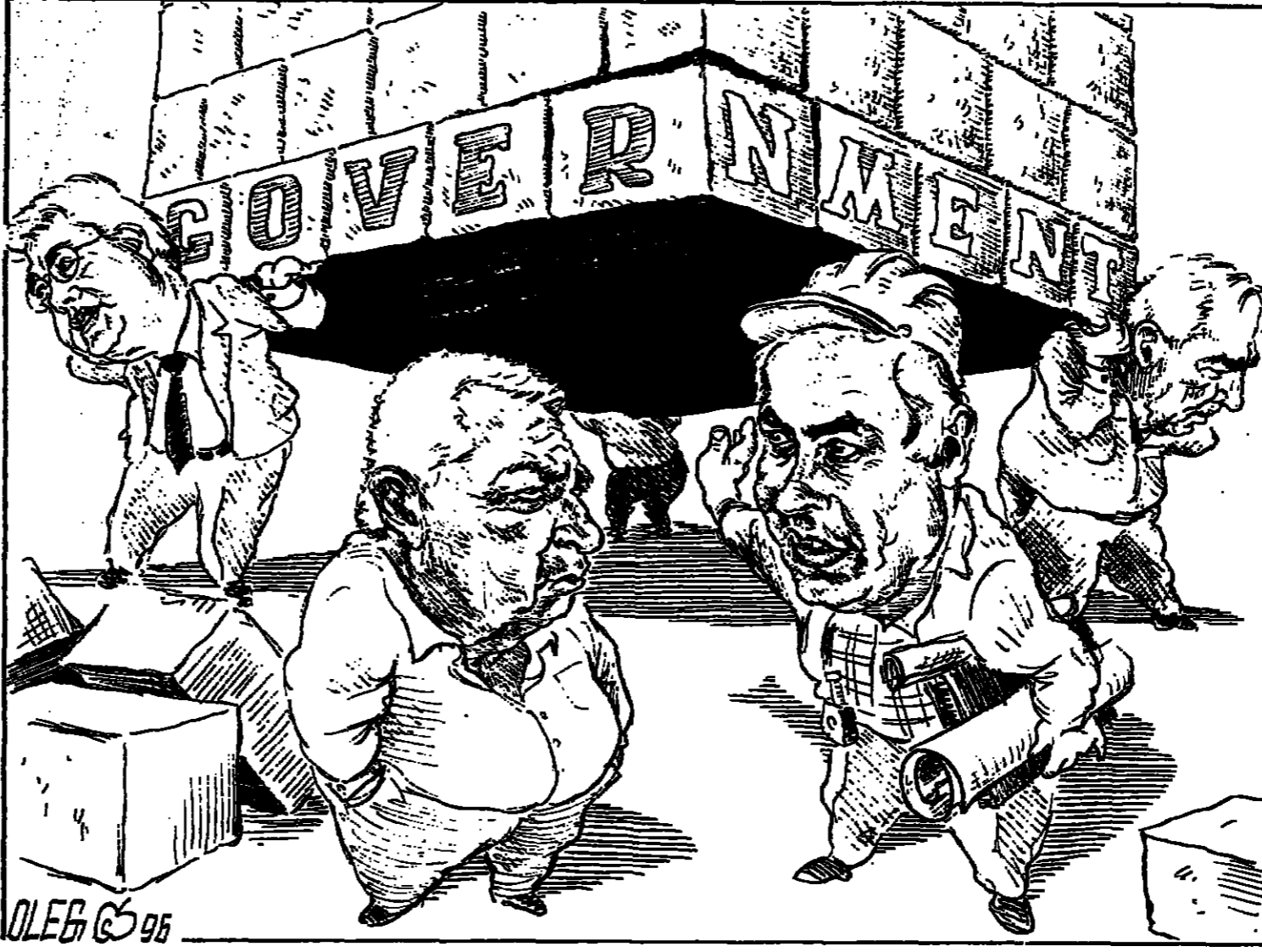
Friday, June 21, 1996

## Netanyahu: Architect with a shaky foundation

Members of the new government hardly qualify as the expert professionals the premier wanted to build his efficient new edifice, Sarah Honig writes

WAS Bank of Israel governor Ya'acov Frenkel the goat in the latest government formation saga's outrageously bizarre twists and turns? Was he that proverbial creature of Jewish folklore, the one which the old rabbi advised the poor man to take into his overcrowded home, so that when the pesky animal is eventually removed from the cramped dwelling, it would make it all look better? It was amazing this week to see how many people actually thought so, and how many believed that Ariel Sharon's travails all resulted from an ingenious stratagem calculated to get him to settle gratefully for an artificially contrived ministry which he might otherwise not ever have designed to consider. There was almost a refusal to think otherwise by those who had overnight become unshakably convinced of Benjamin Netanyahu's unerring and foolproof political acumen. Incredibly, a persistent perception this week was that what appeared like a series of disastrous fiascos was in fact all part of a brilliant, sophisticated maneuver. Such is the fickleness of public opinion that after months of deriding Netanyahu as an empty facade with no substance or depth, he now is regarded as a cunning manipulator who cannot lose and whose clever, surprising plans had been hatched well in advance and are implemented coolly and with a determination which no one can thwart.

is the first directly-elected prime minister. He can cast aside the Likud's leadership, cut the Fighting Family's princes down to size and run his government along the American model in which there really are no ministers in the sense that they function in the parliamentary system. The Norwegian Law, which will remove the ministers from the Knesset, will make this all the more palpable. Netanyahu will be surrounded by secretaries who will run departments. They will owe their appointment to expertise in a given field and not to political connections. Hence the wish to import outside experts like Frenkel and attorney Dr. Ya'acov Ne'eman as justice minister. I PUT this view to a leading Likud politician who did settle for one of the portfolios Netanyahu was willing to let him have. He agreed that "Bibi's blueprint may be splendid. The question is whether he considered the quality of the terrain on which he was going to put up his new revolutionary edifice and whether the execution of the plans lived up to the quality of the artwork. Maybe Ivet the contractor went a little wild at the helm of the bulldozer that was leveling the lot - which was not vacant to begin with. The new electoral system did not entirely do away with the parliamentary system and what remains of it cannot be ignored. It already forced Bibi to accommodate his grand scheme to the old environment. The new electoral system, which - contrary to predictions - augmented the size of the small parties and shrank the large ones, exacted a heavy price from Netanyahu. The coalition parties' representatives in the government hardly qualify as the expert professionals that Bibi wanted to run his efficient new departments. Not only is the National Religious Party's Yitzhak Levy no expert in transportation and Yisrael Be'aliya's Natan Sharanisky no whiz in trade and industry, but some of the new ministers are anonymous unknowns. "I doubt Bibi ever laid eyes on Eli Suissa whom Shas picked as the new interior minister, and I doubt anyone has seen or evaluated the credentials of Shas's Eli Yishai to run the Labor and Social Affairs Ministry. For that matter, it's not exactly clear what makes Geshet's David Levy such a natural for Foreign Affairs. If ever there was a natural, it's Dan Meridor for Justice," the minister opines. Indeed even on the far left it is readily admitted that Meridor was the best justice minister in the country's history, when he held the office from 1988 to 1992. Moreover, the assumption is that no architect ever wishes to construct one building only. Netanyahu, the consensus is, would want to go on to win another election and erect another government in 2000. He cannot afford to allow Lieberman's heavy earth-moving equipment to crush too many of those - either in or out of



partners with numerous portfolios, he also left the Likud only the scraps which everyone else rejected. Those who credit Netanyahu with supreme cunning did not ascribe this to a farcical cock-up. Inserting Frenkel and then pulling him out allowed Netanyahu, it was asserted, to demonstrate who is boss, to settle accounts with those who kept putting their spokes in his wheels, but in the end makes it look better. Before the campaign Netanyahu suspected that Meridor was out to topple him, while Begin was out to undermine the vital pre-election rapprochement between Netanyahu, David Levy and Rafael Eitan. Therefore Netanyahu, according to this theory, chose to toy with Meridor and Begin in order to push them down a peg. Maybe. But why then treat the indefatigable Ariel Sharon so shabbily? He is the man who made the rapprochement possible, who mobilized hardi support for Netanyahu and without whom it is unlikely that Netanyahu could have won. The Likud rank and file got no answer. This offended its most basic sense of fair play and it did not like to see its most popular hero so ignominiously slapped in the face. "Netanyahu will need the party faithful in four years. He will yet learn that he cannot callously trample the Likud," Amor predicted. The aforementioned new Likud minister is similarly certain that "Bibi will be forced to see that fancy blueprints are not enough. If they are unrealistic, the best-laid plans can result in a confining clapboard shack, no matter how grandiose the pretensions," and no matter how many goats are introduced inside, or how many Frenkels are then removed from it. Neither would Netanyahu's structure be very sound if, for any reason, Sharon were after all left outside to huff and puff and threaten to bring the ramshackle house down.

the Likud - who helped him win the tender to begin with. Thus Netanyahu must take the utmost care not to alienate the haredi community which turned out so overwhelmingly to vote for him. Its high birthrate will make it even more powerful in four years' time and he cannot afford not to have it on his side. So he let the haredi parties scribble red lines all over his blueprints, to say nothing of the fact that they walked away with the hottest coalition commodity of all - the Housing portfolio. Nevertheless, Netanyahu curiously did manage to run afoul of the aged Rabbi Eliezer Schach who controls United Torah Judaism's non-hassidic Degel Hatorah faction. He earned Schach's ultimate putdown when the rabbi - who fasted on election day to underscore his entreaty to the Almighty to enable Netanyahu to defeat Peres - was quoted this week as saying that Netanyahu "is no better than Peres." To make matters worse Schach ordered his MKs to get the

Religious Affairs portfolio over which Shas and the NRP had already won joint custody. Pay though he did, Netanyahu is in trouble if Schach is displeased. LIKUD INSIDERS were more than displeased this week. They were reeling. In their judgment Netanyahu's original blueprints called for a government à la Ben-Gurion without the Herut and Maki parties. The very notion that Lieberman can threaten to roll his engines

over the likes of Ariel "Arik King of Israel" Sharon, Likud darling Meridor and the founding father's reincarnation Benny Begin, was beyond comprehension in the party. The Likud watched horrified as all sources of clout went to the coalition partners. This involves, not only the ministries but even Knesset committees. As MK Shaul Amor cautioned Netanyahu: "This is not a matter of prestige. At this rate Shas will form the next government and

will maybe evince enough largesse to take the Likud into its coalition. We are putting too much power in their hands and they can be trusted to use the next four years to make a lot of friends and influence even more people, till they erode our support to such an extent that they will end up with more votes." Netanyahu not only paid his

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# 'No, Prime Minister': Melodrama in three acts

### Netanyahu won the power struggle with David Levy and Ariel Sharon. But the victory might come back to haunt him, Barry Rubin writes

**P**RIME Minister Binyamin Netanyahu sought to make himself an all-powerful, directly elected chief executive who stood above party, faction and coalition. For a while, this plan seemed to be working: Then David Levy and Ariel Sharon pulled him back to earth with a thud.

This is the meaning of the drama over the inception of Netanyahu's new government. The question is whether this power struggle - and its unfavorable outcome for the prime minister - will set the tone for Netanyahu's whole term in office.

At the end of Act I, the moment he stood before the Knesset announcing his cabinet, Netanyahu had apparently achieved almost complete success by concentrating power in his own hands.

During the almost three-week period since his election as Israel's first prime minister chosen by popular vote, he conducted the coalition negotiations virtually single-handed.

Netanyahu is young, he lacks top government experience, is relatively new to Likud politics, and was recently under fire from within his own party. But all these problems were overcome, he hoped, by the simple fact that he had won a personal victory in the ballot box. This was to be the basis for him to create a more "presidential" system, as in France or the US.

That was why, in contrast to many in his own party, he was a strong advocate of the prime minister's direct election.

In Israel's system the prime minister has long been more powerful in practice than in theory, as shown by Menachem Begin and Yitzhak Rabin. Yet Netanyahu wanted to go further, and to guarantee the chief executive's place more openly. His own personal vulnerabilities made imposing his supremacy from the start all the more vital if he were to succeed in office.

Building a new government required that he manage the contradictions among three factors: his own personal preferences, his party, and his partners.

In this context, Netanyahu's goals were:

• To reduce the possibility of potential rivals, or even equals,

being able to compete or cause trouble for him. Thus he sought to keep Ariel Sharon, Moshe Katsav, Dan Meridor and Ze'ev Binyamin Begin out of key ministries. During Act I, he succeeded remarkably well, if not totally, on this point. Reducing Sharon's role gave his government a more moderate image internationally as well as keeping out a man known for his brash style of independence.

Meridor did, however, end up with Finance (though this is not a post which often increases its holder's popularity), while Katsav accepted a minor ministry in exchange for the largely symbolic, added title of deputy prime minister.

• To put his own people or technocrats into key offices.

When constituting his cabinet, the American president usually chooses a close personal associate as attorney-general. In this tradition, Netanyahu named Ya'acov Ne'eman as justice minister. He failed, however, to appoint Governor of the Bank of Israel Ya'acov Frenkel, a professional economist, as minister of finance, but did increase his power at Meridor's expense. Netanyahu also created a National Security Council, moved control of the Television Authority to his office, and is trying - despite great opposition in his own party - to install his own man as Knesset Speaker.

Surprisingly, Yitzhak Mordechai's selection as defense minister might be put into the same category. He is, after all, a professional soldier. But he is too much of a newcomer to pose a threat to Netanyahu. Moreover, he was the only person in the Likud who could pose a credible alternative to Sharon in that job.

• To make concessions to smaller parties needed for a Knesset majority, but who could not challenge his leadership. These concessions were preferable to compromises with top figures in his own party.

It is easy to forget that Netanyahu has to cope with having seven parties as partners - Gesher, Tsomet, the National Religious Party, the Third Way, Yisrael Ba'aliya, United Torah Judaism and Shas - about as many as ever seen in an Israeli governing coalition. Each wants its share of ministries, Knesset committees, pet policies, funding,

and other benefits. This leaves the Likud itself with a smaller share of the pie than usually goes to the ruling party.

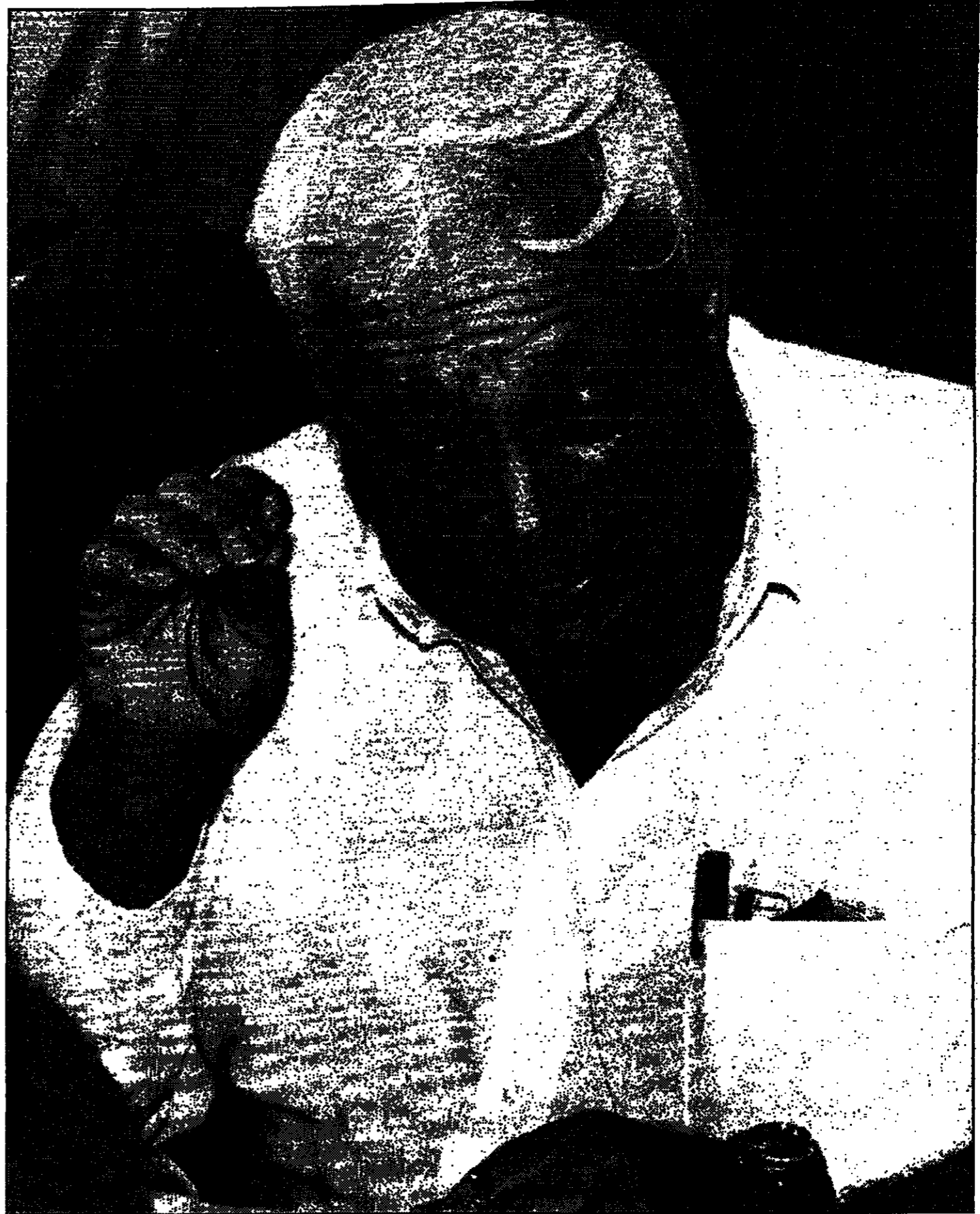
Eager to put together a majority coalition, Netanyahu was quick to give these partners what they wanted. He and top aide Avigdor Lieberman controlled these talks completely. The style was that of a chief executive naming his cabinet, not a prime minister (a title that implies being a first among equals) bargaining to become the nation's leader. Netanyahu told the Likud what it would get: he himself, not his party, made deals with the partners.

**TO NETANYAHU'S** benefit, there were relatively few policy differences among these groups. Even compared to the Rabin/Peres government, a wide measure of consensus existed. True, they squabbled about phrases in the coalition agreement and over the housing and religious affairs ministries, but these things were more the stuff of headaches than of heart attacks for a prime minister. Netanyahu resolved these issues in a way that seemed to reinforce his primacy: He simply took the disputed ministries with himself as caretaker.

Giving David Levy the Foreign Ministry was also an easy decision for Netanyahu. Despite its prestige, the Foreign Ministry is a relatively harmless post in terms of power because a prime minister can easily circumvent it, as former prime minister Yitzhak Shamir did when Levy last held the portfolio.

Shorn of any authority over the peace process - in contrast to Peres's role under Rabin - the foreign minister is a very secondary figure indeed. Moreover, David Levy as leader of his own Gesher Party aligned with, but not subject to, Likud discipline, is in a very different position from David Levy, Likud member and defeated candidate in the primaries. Everything Netanyahu gave Levy, including five safe Knesset seats, was done at the expense of loyal Likud members. But once he let Levy and the similarly aligned Tsomet leader Rafael Eitan have such autonomy, he had to keep paying them off to ensure their continued support.

And so, Netanyahu prepared to present his cabinet to the Knesset as a new-style chief executive leader. His rivals relegated to secondary posts, his own people in control of other ministries, disputes resolved by giving himself more portfolios, and Ariel Sharon excluded altogether. If David Levy had not wanted to take the Foreign Ministry portfolio,



Ariel Sharon found himself the odd man out in a game of governmental musical chairs, when the music stopped and he still hadn't gotten a seat in the cabinet. (GPPA)

Netanyahu would have called his bluff by winning a vote of confidence without him. Netanyahu had achieved a great victory. But that was only Act I.

**WHILE ACT 1** lasted for almost three weeks, Act 2 reversed everything in about three hours.

Believing he was a new type of elected chief executive, Netanyahu had neglected two key factors: his own party's interests and his rivals' ambitions. The melodramatic Act 2 might be called "The Revenge of David Levy."

In a breathtakingly brilliant maneuver for a man long the butt of jokes portraying him as stupid and inept, Levy outmaneuvered

and humiliated the man he loves to hate. Playing Jonathan to Ariel Sharon's David, Levy spoke touchingly of his devotion to "my friend, Ariel." Using his own five votes, plus one Tsomet supporter, and an absent Sharon, Levy showed his leverage.

Unless Netanyahu gave Sharon his due, Levy warned, he would face significant political problems.

Levy's maneuver would not have succeeded without two other factors. First, there were many discontented people in Likud who were also dissatisfied with the share of the spoils of victory. Second, Netanyahu gave in quickly and completely.

Sharon was offered a mini-empire of unprecedented dimensions. Yet even this did not end Netanyahu's discomfiture. Sharon was in no hurry to accept the prime minister's capitulation. The damage to Netanyahu's credibility and authority may be permanent.

And so Act 3, concerning the new government's structure, and the climax of the play, commenced. A tremendous blow has been dealt to Netanyahu's effort to restructure Israel's political insti-

tutions. Indeed, his tenure might end up being a step back from the centralizing trend of his recent predecessors.

Sharon, whose appetite for authority may grow as fast as he eats up parts of other ministries, will have ample scope for implementing his own preferences and patronage, and for constantly trying to embarrass Netanyahu by proving he is more devoted to the needs of the settlers and the religious communities. To make matters worse, Netanyahu must face the consequences of other ministers' anger at Sharon's raids on their authority.

Levy, heading his own parliamentary bloc, will gleefully seek new opportunities to humiliate Netanyahu. Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir always manipulated Levy, but Levy has now turned the tables on Netanyahu and he will not be gentle in taking advantage of his power. The alliance between his two main enemies will make Netanyahu's job even tougher.

Netanyahu is very fortunate indeed that Meridor, Begin and Eitan have been reasonable in their demands, with the latter two accepting relatively minor min-

istries. If the prime minister does not succeed in building close links with these other coalition ministers, the will have even more problems.

The new system, of course, makes Netanyahu's hold on the office of prime minister stronger than that of his predecessors. No one in the coalition actually wants the government to fall, which would mean facing the threat of new elections, the loss of hard-won ministries, and the return of the Labor Party.

Equally, real policy disputes will be limited. The main disputes, over defining the religious/secular status quo, can be handled. In part, the Third Way and Yisrael Ba'aliya will balance the three religious parties, whose demands seem smaller than might have been expected. Coalition struggles for money and patronage will be more heated than any differences on national security or the peace process.

But Netanyahu's attempted structural revolution is very much in jeopardy. He is now unquestionably the country's leader, but he is much less securely established as the country's ruler than he had hoped to be.

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# Palestinians in despair at new government's attitudes

The PA is upset at a lack of communication. Steve Rodan and Bill Hutman report.

WITH each passing day, Hassan Asfour seems more irritated with Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu. Asfour, head of the Palestinian Authority Negotiating Department, reads the Netanyahu government's program and becomes upset that the prime minister has ruled out a Palestinian state. Then, he and his colleagues try to reach members of the new government only to be told they can't talk to the Palestinians.

"All these things don't speak very well for the peace process," says Asfour, who is also an aide to the PA's No. 2, Mahmoud Abbas. "It is as if Netanyahu doesn't want to continue with the peace process."

For Palestinians comfortable in their dealings with the former Labor-led government, the prospect of working with Netanyahu is unsettling.

As they see it, the camaraderie is gone, the dialogue has become formal and the Israeli positions hardened, as the two sides prepare to enter negotiations over the next few weeks over issues held over from the Peres government. They include the IDF redeployment in Hebron, a further military redeployment in the territories and final status negotiations, subjects expected to be explored when US Secretary of State Warren Christopher arrives in Israel next week.

Israeli officials don't dispute many of these Palestinian assessments. The new government's guidelines say Israel will offer the Palestinians self-rule rather than statehood. The Likud-led coalition will oppose the Palestinian demand to return to their homes west of the Jordan, which includes Judea, Samaria and Gaza.

The government plank also calls for strengthening Jewish settlement as well as for the right of the IDF to battle terrorism anywhere, which presumably includes the areas under Palestinian authority.

These positions sharply contrast with those of the outgoing Labor government, some of whose representatives had told Palestinian leaders that they saw a Palestinian state as being the least objectionable of their demands.

Perhaps the strongest message emerging from the new government is that while it will continue negotiations begun under Labor, it will expect a lot more of the Palestinian Authority. The credo of Shimon Peres that benevolence and creative thinking alone can blur even the greatest of differences is rejected by Netanyahu's



emphatic in their approach. They say the IDF's experience in negotiating with the Palestinians is an important tool for the new government.

But they make it clear that the negotiations with the Palestinians will be centralized, in contrast to the numerous channels both the IDF and the government had with the PA during the Rabin and Peres administrations.

In the end, they say, Netanyahu will make the decisions on such issues as Hebron, further redeployment and final-status talks. "He will consult with others, but I have the feeling that he will make up his own mind when the time is right," a source close to the prime minister says.

Perhaps the biggest fear of some senior Palestinian officials is that Israel will simply bypass them. This is said to be the concern of Dahlan and Rajoub, who have developed both political and commercial ties with Israelis, particularly those close to the Labor Party.

Leading Palestinians maintain that the Peres government valued Rajoub so much that, along with the US, it succeeded in getting PA President Yasser Arafat to withdraw his dismissal of the security chief earlier this year. Aides to Peres deny this but a senior Israeli security source recalls, "We made it clear that we preferred to continue dealing with Rajoub."

Regardless, sources close to Netanyahu dismiss fears that he will choose his Palestinian interlocutors. But Asfour does not. "Israel will not decide who our leaders are," Asfour, who is close to Dahlan, says. "No one will replace Dahlan and Rajoub."

For his part, Arafat plans on raising the stakes in his dealings with Israel. The Egyptian daily *Al-Ahram* reports that at the Arab League summit being held in Cairo this weekend, the PA chief plans to ask for endorsement of a Palestinian state with Jerusalem as its capital. Egyptian officials already say that they will approve such an announcement.

In the end, this might capture the attention of the US and Israel. Asfour says Netanyahu will have to meet Arafat to revive the Israeli-Palestinian negotiating track. The alternative to progress in the peace talks, he warns, is confrontation.

"Maybe the confrontation will be worse than the intifada," Asfour says. "But I hope not. I hope that Netanyahu will choose the path of peace and will come to the negotiating table serious about making progress."

staff.

Take the battle against Islamic terror, which security sources expect to increase in the aftermath of the elections. The Netanyahu administration wants to divorce its demand for Palestinian cooperation on this issue from the ongoing negotiations over the future of the territories.

"This cooperation with the Palestinians can't be according to their mood," says Likud MK Gideon Ezra, a former senior General Security Services official who has close contacts with the PA. "It has to be constant and everywhere in the territories."

Ezra disputes the assessment of some in the GSS who, in the past few months have marveled at the level of cooperation by Palestinian security services. "The cooperation is not widespread," Ezra says. "It depends on the person and the mood."

The biggest problem in cooperation, Ezra says, is in Area B, where the Palestinians have civil authority and the Israelis have responsibility for security. Under the agreement signed last September, Palestinian agents are not permitted to operate in this area - although Israeli military sources say they actually do so - and therefore the PA does not share information with Israel on terrorist activities.

Last Sunday, lack of cooperation in Area B turned deadly when off-duty policeman First Sgt. Meir Alush was killed in the Samaritan town of Bidiya. Bidiya, once controlled by pro-Israeli villagers, is now a Hamas stronghold.

Ezra says the new government should not regard security agreements with the Palestinians as set in stone. He suggests that the IDF can withdraw from some areas of Hebron, but he wants to ensure that the IDF has the clear right to enter any area of the city transferred to the PA.

"We can't allow [terrorists to have] Kalashnikovs in Hebron," he says. "We must have the right of hot pursuit."

But Ezra has not been spilling out the government's line to the Palestinians. For one thing, Netanyahu and his aides have been careful not to set policy on such issues as Hebron and further redeployment. Moreover, Ezra has been asked not to speak to the Palestinians until a government is formed.

One aim of the new prime minister is to keep any dialogue with the Palestinians low-key. The only person delegated by Netanyahu to speak to the Palestinians has been his foreign policy adviser, Dore Gold, a longtime researcher at Tel Aviv

University's Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies. Gold has spoken several times by phone to Abbas, known as Abu Mazen.

"That is the only channel right now," a source close to Netanyahu says. "All the rest is noise."

The Palestinians, who had been used to negotiating with all levels of the Peres government, are unhappy with this approach.

Asfour says the Gold-Abu Mazen dialogue has been insubstantial. He says Gold avoided giving Abu Mazen details or commitments regarding such issues as negotiations on the final status of the territories, the pull-out from Hebron and security cooperation.

"Gold only said that Netanyahu is committed to the peace process and asked that we don't attack the new government, that we give it

time," Asfour said.

"We are only talking about a few phone calls. I wouldn't call this a channel of communication. Israel just wants to tell the world that it is still talking to the Palestinians."

Gold refused to comment. But government sources confirm that Netanyahu has not made any commitments to the PA, although he is studying the issues pending with the Palestinians.

They recommend patience, saying that by complaining to the media, PA officials would only end up delaying the serious negotiations needed to maintain the Palestinian-Israeli track at a time when the Clinton administration is more concerned with achieving progress in Israeli talks with Syria.

"The contacts with the

Palestinians will be built up slowly and incrementally," one source says.

So far, Netanyahu has allowed the IDF and the GSS to continue cooperating on security matters with the PA. This includes talks between Palestinian security chiefs Mohammed Dahlan and Jibril Rajoub, and GSS head Ami Ayalon and IDF Chief of Staff Lt. Gen. Amnon Lipkin-Shahak. The Israelis, however, are under orders not to talk about political issues, much to the irritation of their Palestinian interlocutors.

Likud MK Ezra wants to go further. He says the IDF must stay away from negotiating with the Palestinians altogether.

"The army has to deal with the battlefield and leave negotiations to civilians," he says.

Aides to Netanyahu aren't as

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		C	15
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		B	4.8
		C	4.8
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	B	0.8	
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**T**HE window of opportunity at the Syrian Embassy in Ankara slides open for one hour a day. A visa applicant must present a letter from his embassy confirming that he is a non-Jew and a completed form declaring that he has never been to Occupied Palestine. I remove my imam cap to be scrutinized. A minor again, ordering his first beer.

At midnight, with the hawk of the Syrian Arab Republic stamped in my passport, I make final preparations for boarding the overnight bus to Antakya on the southern Turkish border. All possessions must be sanitized against any connection to Israel. Off comes a Hebrew label from my bathing suit.

At Syrian passport control the official studies my entry card. I have listed my occupation as clerk, a low-profile soul of discretion. Eyebrow raised, he asks about my travel plans after Syria. I say that I will be flying home from Amman.

My first stop is the desert port and caravan city of Aleppo, in northern Syria on the Silk Route, 60km. from the Turkish border. A continuously inhabited population center since 1,000 years before King David conquered Jerusalem, Aleppo is renowned for its bazaars, mosques and citadel.

Like an Orient Express passenger on a layover, I check in at the Hotel Baron. Built in the grand old-fashioned railway style in 1909, its guest book is both a catalog of melodious names worthy of a Gatsby party — the Princess Galetzine, the Earl of Iveagh, Sir Hugh Knutchbull-Hugessen — and a register of Jazz Age to Jet Age movers and shakers.

Lord and Lady Louis Mountbatten, the Teddy Roosevelts, Charles Lindbergh, Gene Tunney, Francis Cardinal Spellman, David Rockefeller, Agatha Christie and Yuri Gagarin slept here. In the bar I spot Indiana Jones, Abercrombie & Fitch and Tom Baxter of the Chicago Baxters. I chat with a couple of British Commonwealth travelers — looking like road warriors from a Mad Max movie — just arrived from Iran via PKK country in Eastern Turkey.

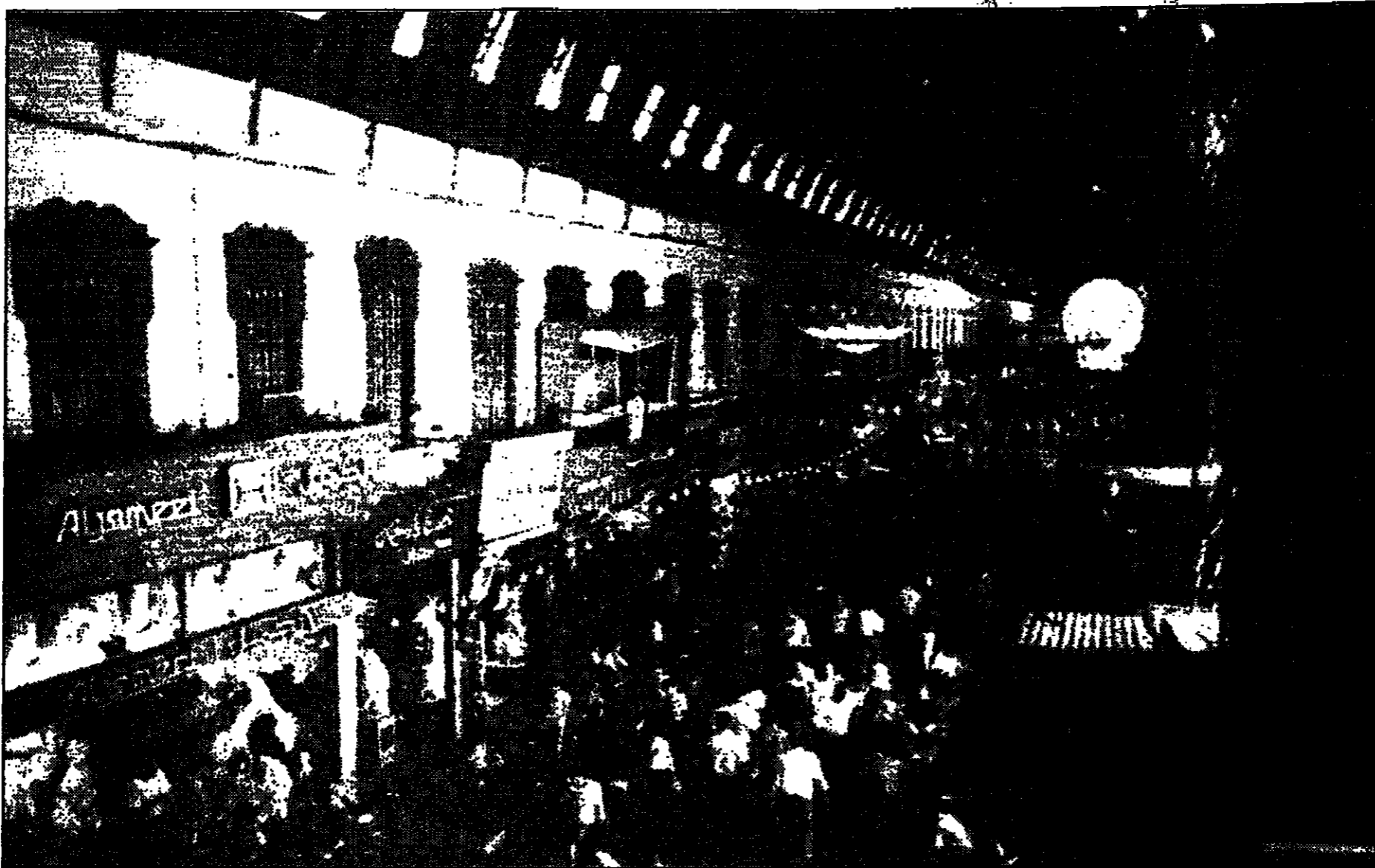
In the parlor is a tribute to T.E. Lawrence, the hotel's most famous guest of all, who stayed here in the summer of 1909 while researching his Oxford thesis on medieval architecture. Able to hike 13 hours a day, he completed an 1,800km. walking tour of Ottoman-controlled Syria, Lebanon and Palestine in three months.

Living like the locals, he sketched, photographed and analyzed 36 Crusader castles. His subsequent work as a field archeologist at the British Museum excavation at Karakamis in northeastern Syria led to a post with British Military Intelligence in Cairo at the start of World War I. He returned to Syria at the end of the war as "Lawrence of Arabia," a key player in the Arab revolt that helped defeat the Ottoman empire.

A COUPLE of hours drive south of Aleppo is the once-beautiful city of Hama, situated on the Orontes River and home of the enormous, creaky waterwheels, or norias, which have been used for irrigation for hundreds of years. Hama is an organism with its arms and legs ripped off. Vast areas where apartments, stores, markets, mosques and schools once stood are now denuded wasteland.

In February 1982, after fighting an urban guerrilla war for several years against the fundamentalist Sunni Moslem Brotherhood, President Assad chose Hama for a showdown. The city was sealed off and then T-62 tanks under the command of the dictator's brother and capogregime Rifat razed those neighborhoods known to

# An Israeli visits Syria



Above, the Hamadieh market in Damascus. Below, the remains of the devastation in Hama.

**Matthew Weinberg of Eilat, traveling on a foreign passport, catches a rare glimpse of a forbidding country**

be or suspected of harboring Brotherhood rebels. Anything still standing was dynamited and then everything was pulverized and flattened by bulldozers and steamrollers. Some 20,000 people, mostly civilians, were either killed in their homes by artillery fire or executed afterwards. I saw large districts of the city that were ringed with bullet-riddled shells of buildings but empty except for clumps of rubble in the sand here and there. The disfigurement serves the regime. A silently screaming warning against sedition.

THERE is one major pass through the mountain range that separates the interior of Syria from the coast. At the summit of the 660m. spur overlooking this pass stands a masterpiece of military architecture, the Crusader castle extraordinaire Krak des Chevaliers. It is a fortress so massive, so impregnable that its Knights of the Hospital garrison of 4,000 resisted all Moslem attempts to capture it — including one by Saladin — for 162 years. Built in 1109 to defend the ill-fated Christian holy land of Outremer, it was finally surrendered in 1271 when, according to legend, the citadel's commander was tricked by a forged order to surrender from his superiors. Relinquished intact, its 900-year-old medieval interior — with vaulted inner passageways and French Gothic-style doors and windows — is still unharmed. Lawrence called it "the best preserved and most wholly admirable castle in the world." The inclined walls are 25m. thick and, from an upper level

balcony, above the circling hawks, I can see the Mediterranean. On the bus ride east to Palmyra in the Syrian Desert I lock eyes briefly with a young, colorfully dressed peasant woman with henna stains on her palms, returning home from a wedding. She is eating sunflower seeds and throwing the shells on the floor, playfully close to me. We pass an air-force base where soldiers disembark, and then the Tadmor Prison turnoff. I hop off at Palmyra and we smile a final

Like its classical sister cities, Petra and Jerash, Palmyra is a one-stop antiquities Eden. A city-state of 30,000 in 200 CE, it was built around a still-lush oasis and linked the trade route between the Persian and Roman empires. The site is dominated by the Temple of Bel, a monument to the city's god. Emperor Aurelian finally sacked Palmyra in 271 CE and displayed its queen, Zenobia, bound in golden chains in Rome.

SYRIAN men are always puffing cigarettes. The smoke of their local brands that fills the buses, restaurants and hotels reeks like burning garbage. You travel and eat in it by day and sleep with it all night and return home coughing and craving nicotine. The eight-year-old boy on the bus on the road to Damascus, after he sells tickets, gives change, offers his passengers a round of sweets and a drink from the spout of an old, plastic watering can, relaxes with a cigarette during his break. His teeth, caked grey and sedimented with plaque, have never felt a toothbrush and haunted me for weeks afterward. Russians crowd the hotels and cafes of Damascus: arms salesmen, military and technical advisers, drug, diamond and currency traders. Holdovers from the halcyon days of Soviet patronage, these people help keep Syria on the US State Department list of countries that sponsor terrorism.



Their attention reminds me of the Russian-Israeli who contended that I looked Jewish to him. I retreat to the cool confines of the Umayyad Mosque built in 705 CE and later at the adjoining tomb I pay tribute to Saladin, the Kurdish military genius who expelled the Crusaders from the Middle East. Afterwards, I relax at the Bakdash, a refreshment parlor where the vanilla ice cream is churned on the premises in front of the customers and sprinkled with crushed pistachio nuts. I read the fire-breathing, rabidly anti-Israel propaganda piece, the English-language *Syria Times*.

DAMASCUS is in decay. Even 90 years ago Lawrence wrote home that it "always seemed to have been such a splendid town." All product advertising is restricted to letters, numerals and

symbols only. No image of any kind except Assad's is permitted. Bold Hafez, benevolent Hafez, Big Brother Hafez watches from posters and paintings, signs and statues, banners, billboards, busts and murals. His only rival for wall space is his son Basil, Syria's one-time Prince Charming and heir apparent. There is equestrian Basil in black helmet and red-and-white riding kit, commando Basil in camouflaged tiger suit and suave Basil in Ray-Bans, posing like an Alawite Tom Cruise. In January 1994, Basil was killed while attempting the jump to light speed with his Range Rover en route to the Damascus International Airport. Neither taxi drivers, hotel staff nor fellow bus passengers breathe a word about current events. The streets in this police state are safe. Petty crime would

be seditious. Save for the pretentious xenophobia of its embassy clerks, I was welcomed with polite, probing curiosity. Citizens are shy of foreigners and intimidated by the unfamiliar. Syrian women, like their conservative Israeli Arab sisters, cover their hair and cloak themselves. Many wear the chador. But in the Castle of Fakhr ud-Din at Palmyra, I talked with a couple of sleek Syrian daughters of the elite. Dressed in T-shirts and designer jeans, they were sightseeing with their ponytailed German boyfriends. Those hip heartbreakers spoke international English and affected the attitude and indifference of the trendiest Sheinkin Street princesses. In the al-Hamidiya market in Damascus I noticed four petite Asiatic women, walking side by side. They wore pastel-colored

silk blouses, pleated knee-length skirts, nylon stockings and black pumps. Each was hooded in a translucent veil fastened under the chin. Their faces were completely covered. The wives of an Indonesian nobleman.

MY HOTEL is opposite Martyrs' Square. It was here, in May 1965, that Israeli spy Eli Cohen was hanged and his body left suspended for six hours. The event, carried live by the Syrian media, was available to anyone in Israel with access to a television set, including Cohen's wife. I cross the street to say a silent, motionless Kaddish.

The pride of the Syrian Armed Forces is the military museum in Damascus. It houses an armory of weapons of every description and from every era of the country's history: sabers, rapiers and cutlasses, blunderbusses, long-barreled flintlocks, muzzle-loaded cannons and bolt-action rifles. There are chunks of lime wrapped in canvas which were used as crude Molotov cocktails by nationalist insurgents against the French Army of the Levant which occupied Syria from 1920 to 1946.

There are Renault armored vehicles, a MiG-17 and the command capsule that took Syrian cosmonaut Mohammed Faris into space with two Soviets in 1987. But the center of attention is the section exhibiting plunder from the Yom Kippur War.

Against a backdrop of huge black-and-white photographs of IDF POWs, Israeli families in mourning at gravesides and a crisis-stricken Golda Meir and Moshe Dayan, is an array of souvenirs collected after the southern Golan Heights were overrun and the Mount Hermon intelligence post was captured during the first 36 hours of the war. There are tattered Israeli flags, Uzis, medium machine guns, mortars, bazookas and cluster bomblets.

There is a pilot's pressure suit, infrared equipment, a tank fire extinguisher and an assortment of dishes, cutlery, postcards, toothpaste and other personal effects. The tail section of an IAF jet covered with messages and signatures in Arabic hangs on a wall. The fuselage of a South African Air Force Mirage 3 is on display. It had been purchased and flown by the Lebanese Amal militia and shot down over the Bekaa in 1982.

In the yard outside is a heap of wreckage, the remains of Israeli Skyhawks and Phantoms downed by SAM missiles. There are also captured remotely-piloted vehicles — drones. The trench knife used by Abdullah Mubandes "to kill three Zionists" is featured prominently. Inevitably, a place is reserved for Number One, pictured as he monitors developments from a bunker.

I WAKE up early in Damascus with the amplified summons to prayer of the muezzin. I buy breakfast from a street vendor — freshly squeezed pomegranate juice, chilled in the glass with ice shaved from a long block. By evening I will be back home in Eilat.

Like a Middle Eastern Cuba, Syria is an antique car show. Fleets of bright yellow, tail-finned, heavily bonded Packards, Studebackers, Hudsons and DeSotos serve the cities. I ride to the bus station in the Kalashnikov of small cars, the 1971 Toyota Corolla. My taxi for the three-hour run from Damascus to Amman is a '73 Dodge Coronet. It packs a 440 magnum V8 engine with a four-barrel carburetor. Built to last by Chrysler Corporation. We cruise past Mercedes and BMWs returning to the Gulf states. From Amman to Akaba it's a five-hour bus ride south.

Akaba's capture from the Turks in July 1917, by a force of Beduin, Arab and Howeitaz tribesmen with Lawrence as British liaison officer-ignited the Arab Revolt and catapulted Lawrence to fame. It was glorified by David Lean in the 1962 movie *Lawrence of Arabia*. I could have seen the battle from my apartment window in Eilat.

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# Media votes 'No' to Israeli democracy

EYE ON THE MEDIA  
GUEST COLUMNIST ANDREA LEVIN

IN a period of deep national trauma that included assassination of its prime minister, unprecedented terrorism on the streets of its cities, and wrenching internal debate over issues of national survival, the Israeli public went to the polls in orderly form and voted for a new government. Without incident, power was transferred to a new leadership in accordance with the popular will. But the media didn't like it.

From veteran Israel-bashers like CNN's *Crossfire* host Robert Novak, to cartoonists nationwide, to the *New York Times*'s Serge Schmemmann and Tom Friedman, the protest was the same. The citizens of Israel had given in to fear, let the world down and opted for the "anti-peace party."

Guests, including a preponderance of Americans, Israelis and Arabs critical of the incoming government, affirmed the gloomy view that peace had been subverted. CNN's Brent Sadler called the new prime minister a swaggerer. Crude cartoons blossomed in newspapers, with a proliferation of mutilated doves and images of Hamas and Yigal Amir rejecting. None, however, equaled the monstrous Herblock in the *Washington Post*.

A skull-faced suicide bomber raised a blood-drenched fist in joint celebration with an equally hideous figure dripping blood and holding a newspaper headlined: "Hard-line resurgence in Israel." The caption to this gore read, "It looks like we won!" If a cartoon is meant to crystallize a truth, this one is a permanent memorial to journalistic virulence.

requests submitted to the P.A. This is no arcane information. It bears vividly on Arafat's dereliction in making central commitments to prevent violence by his own side against Israelis.

owners. To make a transit road from Gaza to the West Bank, or to withdraw the military from Hebron." Thus does he equate Palestinian failure to honor its foremost commitment under Oslo, to forswear and prevent terrorism against Jews, to Jewish failure to build a road, release female prisoners (after releasing thousands of prisoners, President Ezer Weizman balked at the release of inmates convicted of terrorist killings), and withdraw from Hebron.

with his familiar bland of cliché analysis and impudent moralizing. Rabin assassin Yigal Amir and suicide bombers had won, he wrote, in the now-hackneyed formulation of media critics of the election. In other words: evil had won.

PEOPLE sometimes say that in comparison with Tel Aviv, Jerusalem has less of a cultural life. They don't really mean culture, I suspect, but night life, entertainment. Fun.

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CAPITAL TALK  
TEDDY KOLLEK with AMOS KOLLEK

people who seek active night life and Western culture, Jerusalem has certainly nothing to be ashamed of.

city has a much higher birthrate than the secular. Every year their number grows by comparison. This is a welcome development. After all, this is our Holy City, the heart of our nation, the site of the two Temples.

spiritual and historical center, but also the "in" place for modern culture, for theater, dance, film, poetry, television and so on.

Although it will take some will and foresight, also, perhaps some sacrifice, for a while, if they were to make a move to Jerusalem. But they should do so, in order to preserve its pluralistic character, to increase its vitality and its appeal.

## A Mafia of fatuity

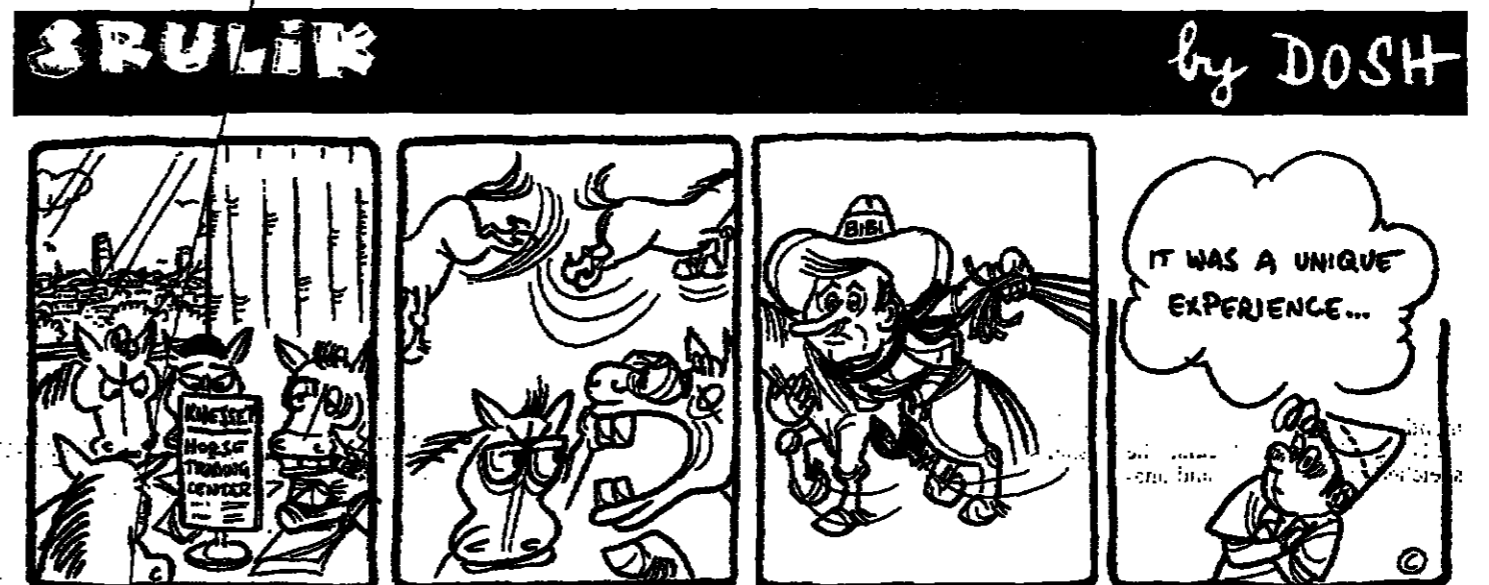
A VIEW FROM NOV  
MOSHE KOHN

OUR journalists, especially those of the state-subsidized electronic media, are again seeking to create panic among the public – as they did following the previous right-wing and religious election victories – over the bogey of alleged intentions of the incoming regime to take over those media, stifle criticism, etc.

I refer to the *Middle East Resources* newsletter of the Teaching Resource Center of Harvard's Center for Middle Eastern Studies. Two years ago I cited some mis-definitions from the "Middle East Glossary" in *MER*'s June 1994 issue. For example, it described Black September as the PLO's terrorism, as the "PLO organization responsible for holding Israeli athletes hostage at the 1972 [Munich] Olympics." Not a word about the gang's role in the murder of 11 of those hostages.

Arabic name, "Ismail")

IN THE same glossary that misplaces Ishmael generationally, *MER* chronologically misplaces Mohammed's journey from Mecca, whose inhabitants had rejected his new religion, to Yathrib (Medina).



## The road to redemption is lined with risk and opportunity

SHABBAT SHALOM  
SHLOMO RISKIN

This is the statute of the Torah which God has commanded... Bring you a red heifer, flawless, wherein is no blemish, and upon which never came yoke." (Num. 19:2)

which is trans-logical. But what are the rationalists like Rabbenu Sa'adia Gaon and Maimonides to do with *hukim* in their theological systems? These authors argue that nothing in the Torah could possibly be non-rational, since Torah reflects the wisdom of the Divine and must be consummately rational by definition.

well as national level. After all, if from a religious perspective, death is the punishment for human transgression, the goal of Torah is to return the world to the Garden of Eden. And Torah certainly purports to teach humanity to cease engaging in crimes, warfare and bloodshed, to turn swords into plowshares and to live together in peace.

max in the prophetic vision of a valley of dry bones – "and the dry bones rise from the graves, are enveloped in flesh and arteries, and are informed with renewed hearts and souls." (Ezekiel 37)

WE HAVE seen how Harvard University gives its agents to the rewriting and distortion of the history of the Arab-Jewish conflict.

In these times you cannot AFFORD to be without THE JERUSALEM POST INTERNATIONAL EDITION

### FUNDS BEVERLEE BLACK

LAST week's listings omitted several contributions, which we are publishing this week instead.

### FUNDS WELFARE

Handicraft Fair. NIS 500 in memory of our father, Moshe Ornstein – from his children in Israel and Anzurlia.

### FUNDS NEW DONATIONS

name of Mr. Elly Melloch. Anon., J'm. In honor of the 90th birthday of Mrs. Lotie Markus – Hava Bitan, J'm, Resee Berman, Safed, PNEEM. In appreciation of Bryna Kaufman's gracious help when needed – Rose Kline, Beersheba.

### FUNDS WELFARE

NIS 54 (3 x ha) in honor of the bar mitzva of Yossan Meir Levit – From the Riskin Family, J'm. NIS 25 To remember one of Jerusalem's most helpful and interesting citizens, Ruth Rind (27) – The Cobens, Ma'ach Adamin. NIS 10 E. Rosenstein, Netanya.





# A tri-generation affair

GRAPEVINE  
GREER FAY CASHMAN

**N**OT only is Binyamin Netanyahu the first Israeli prime minister born after the establishment of the state and the first to enter office with children under the age of five. He is also the first with two living parents as well as two living parents-in-law to witness his triumph.

Son Yariv, who attended the opening session of the 14th Knesset, stole some of his father's thunder when he fell asleep in the gallery. The event was just not exciting enough to keep him awake.

**THE CHANGE** of government has apparently inspired a sartorial revolution. Agricultural and Environment Minister Rafael Eitan, who last month turned up at his own wedding in an open-necked shirt, uncharacteristically donned jacket and tie for the presentation of the new government to President Ezer Weizman. Eitan's penchant for informality was usurped by Industry and Trade Minister Natan Sharansky, who turned up sans tie and jacket, while Education Minister Zevulun Hammer wore a jacket, but no tie. Ariel Sharon was of course not in the picture, and one wonders if the gang will all troop back for take two to ensure that posterity gets the full frame.

**ISRAEL RESOURCES** director David Bedein, who is frequently quoted in the foreign media, was asked at the beginning of this week to hazard a guess about the role Sharon may play in the political arena. Too experienced to risk a portfolio projection, Bedein's forecast was "a thankless task."

**IF THE** Norwegian Law obliging ministers to forfeit their Knesset seats is passed, former MK Rubiy Rivlin will be one of the first of those waiting in the wings to sprint into parliament. Rivlin, who celebrated too soon after the Likud primaries, was one of the sacrificial lambs in the Likud-Gesher-Tsomet alliance.

Rivlin's friends are exploring every possible avenue to make a legislator again. They have been lobbying Eliahu Ben-Elissar, whose name has been mentioned in connection with the about-to-bevacated ambassadorship to the US. If Ben-Elissar goes to Washington, they reason, Rivlin can get into the Knesset. But Ben-Elissar, for his part, is none too keen. If he had been interested in going to Washington, he said, he wouldn't have campaigned so hard to retain his parliamentary seat.

**WOMEN MAY** have lost ground in the Knesset, but they appear to be well represented at the upcoming World Zionist Organization and Jewish Agency assembly in Jerusalem.

Hadassah president Marlene Post hosted a pre-assembly luncheon for some 40 women leaders at Hadassah College, not just to make a statement about woman-power, but also to promote the



Those present at a luncheon hosted by Hadassah president Marlene Post (center) included (from left) Amit president Evelyne Blachor; Sylvia Lewis of Na'amat, Helena Glaser of WIZO, Raya Jaglom of WIZO, Hadassa-WIZO Canada president Judy Mandelman and Bernice Tenenbaum of Hadassah.

catering talents of students from Hadassah's hotel management school. Conversation was mostly about the need to pool efforts to make more leadership roles available to women.

As far as joint efforts go, some of those present found that they could dance at two weddings at the same time. Post for instance, is also a member of Amit, while Amit president Evelyne Blachor is also a member of Hadassah. Others in attendance included Raya Jaglom, Michal Moda'i and Helena Glaser from WIZO, Sylvia Lewis of Na'amat USA, Judy Mandelman, president of Hadassah-WIZO Canada, and former Hadassah presidents and ongoing stalwarts Charlotte Jacobson, Bernice Tenenbaum and Ruth Popkin.

**FEMINISTS WHO** are complaining that women have not come far enough in the struggle for equal opportunities, should speak to Nava Karmiel who, in the course of doing an MA thesis on Jerusalem's Nahlat neighborhood, interviewed numerous veteran residents of Kurdish extraction who told her that in Kurdistan, women never dined together with their husbands, but ate the scraps from their husbands' food. It was only after they came to Israel that they sat down at the same table at the same time and ate from their own plates. Now that's real progress.

**IT WILL** be a long time before Israeli soldiers can put their weapons away, opined President Ezer Weizman, who was guest of honor at a gala dinner presented as a Salute to Israel's Soldiers at the Dan Hotel, Tel Aviv. Weizman made a brief appearance at the affair cosponsored by the Open University, Soldiers' Scholarship Fund and Friends of the Open University.

The Open University is the only facility which can provide acade-



Tuvia Tsafir provided a lighter side to a gala dinner presented as a Salute to Israel's Soldiers.

mic courses for soldiers doing compulsory service. OU president Prof. Menahem Ya'ari said. OU director Issachar Goldrat said over 8,300 soldiers and civilian women doing national service in non-military environments are studying in OU programs. He said he doubted that any other country could claim as high a ratio of soldiers engaged in academic studies as here.

Of eight scholarships awarded to students whose grades had all been in the 90-plus bracket, one went to a woman, Sarit Sha'ar, who has embarked on a second year of national service.

On the lighter side of the evening, national lampoonist Tuvia Tsafir proved that he was as up-to-date as the electronic media, and the new additions to his repertoire were spot-on. Helping papa raise a laugh was Tsafir's 21-year-old daughter Shikmit. Though a talented entertainer herself, she is studying social work at Tel Aviv University. Weizman expressed regret at leaving before Tsafir's

performance, and voiced a desire to impersonate the impersonator.

**"IT'S AN** east-west alliance," enthused Liverpoolian Solly Goldman who with his wife June came to Israel to celebrate the marriage of their son Laurence David Goldman to Iris David, daughter of Sylvia and David David of Herzliya who are of Yemenite and Iraqi background. Officiating at the lavish reception at the Tel Aviv Country Club was Ashkenazi Chief Rabbi Yisrael Meir Lau, a friend of the bride's family. Among the 400 guests from Israel and abroad was Wolf Kantor, deputy grand master of the Israel Freemasons. Both Goldman senior and junior are also Freemasons.

**COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP** is apparently in the Bronfman genes.

Yisrael Ba'aliya MK Roman Bronfman said in a radio interview this week that he was related to the Canadian Bronfmans, who between them hold or have held senior executive positions on the boards of the overwhelming majority of international Jewish organizations. Not as succinct as his Canadian cousins, the local Bronfman hasn't yet mastered the art of speaking in sound bites. In fact, he is so tenacious and so laborious in getting his point across that if he wasn't a member of the coalition, his verbosity might well have made him the new filibuster champion.

**OUT OF** Babylon... Tel Aviv's Maan Auditorium became a temporary Iraqi enclave last Thursday night as Iraqi expatriates here and abroad gathered to share childhood memories. Among them were former internal security minister Moshe Shabai, Keren Hayesod chairman and former Knesset speaker Shlomo Hillel, former chief of general staff Moshe Levy and Ramat Gan Mayor Zvi Bar.

# Virtual-reality soap opens to a packed House

THE WEEK THAT WAS  
MICHAL YUDELMAN

**I**F the nation had expected a spectacle for the formation of the first ever government put together under a directly elected leader, it certainly got it.

Unfortunately, it was only the spectacle of the same old charlatans making an even bigger spectacle of themselves than ever.

Once again, political reality in Israel surpassed the cheapest kind of pulp fiction. It was more bizarre than a Brazilian soap opera, more ridiculous than the *Seinfeld* team's mock ad about nothing, and more nerve-racking than *The X-Files* - without being half so intelligent. If the truth is out there, the question remains, where?

Power battles in the Likud leadership, intrigue and suspense right up to the Knesset climax, last-minute unexpected developments, and a cliffhanger "to be continued in the morning"; it could all have been a scene from a scriptwriters' training manual.

Great for the ratings perhaps, but what about the country, or is it about to live now in virtual reality?

Parliamentarians in the Knesset were shamed. It was so bad, even Labor didn't gloat. It was left to lots of Likud members, of all people, to say that it had all been a fiasco, a shambling and a disgrace.

## PUTSCH AND SHOVE

By the daytime, when the government was to be presented in the Knesset, rumbles of discontent in the Likud had turned to a rebellious roar. A group of nine Likud MKs reportedly went so far as to plot a putsch against Netanyahu.

They called Ariel Sharon in his Shikim Farm and asked him to lead them. They suggested not voting in support of Netanyahu's cabinet, thus aborting the fetal government and bringing about new elections.

Sharon rejected the idea, and on reflection, the MKs themselves decided Netanyahu would probably form an immediate national unity government with Labor.

Many Labor supporters who listened to Shimon Peres deliver his powerful speech in the Knesset were aroused not to emotion, but to astonishment.

So where the heck had he been when we needed him with powerful speeches? *funny labor MKs*

"If he had shown such fighting spirit during the election campaign, he couldn't have lost," said one former Labor minister.

## GRADE SCHOOL

Most senior Likud members were either insulted, humiliated or dwarfed. Instead of being boosted up to the next class, they were kicked out of school altogether or, if lucky, held back a grade. Those who made it to Bibi Netanyahu's cabinet had been roughed up a little in the playground and staggered in bruised and scarred.

Katsav was demoted to tourism minister. Meridor made it by the skin of his teeth, but only after it was made clear to him that the headmaster would rather not have him in his school. Sharon stayed back a grade, wanting to spend a little more time with his sheep, no doubt.

Whatever he gets, he will retain the mark on his forehead, "the one that says the new powers in the Likud did not think he deserved a real ministry. The patchwork quilt they had to stitch together for him after David Levy twisted an arm or two will just have to do.

There are so many soldiers left wounded in the battlefield, said MK Pini Badash, "they've turned us into peons and robotricks."

Netanyahu had made too many promises to too many people, said another, there simply was no way he could keep them all.



Those who made it to Netanyahu's cabinet had been roughed up a little in the playground and staggered in bruised and scarred. (Hamit)



MK Amor: The intention to have a Norwegian law or a Moroccan law is a stinking maneuver. (David Rubinger)



MK Ben-Elissar: They stabbed me in the back and then twisted the knife! (Hamit)

the Knesset.

Their mood was reflected by former tourism minister Uzi Baram's story of the Likud colleague who ran into him in the Knesset and said: "You should be happy. Netanyahu will bring rapid peace with all the Arab spies."

"How so?" Baram wondered.

"Simple. He'll agree to everything they demand of him."

## FORGOTTEN MAN

It somehow passed without notice that the new Knesset's swearing-in ceremony took place without anyone, except former prime minister Shimon Peres, mentioning the murder of Yitzhak Rabin.

Rabin's old friend and office director Shimon Sheves vented his anger at President Ezer Weizman, "who did not see fit to mention, even with a hint, the murder of the prime minister, the only reason for early elections and a new Knesset. I am ashamed of the president... he just ignored it and went on to daily matters. It's a disgrace."

"Most of the public has already forgotten Rabin's murder," said former industrialist David Moshevit, the man who published an ad of the association "We Won't Forget," citing the biblical proverb "Hast thou murdered and taken possession?"

New Education Minister Zevulun Hammer rushed to the Attorney General's Office to demand charging Moshevit with incitement to rebellion.

Odd, said Labor MKs, Hammer's voice was strangely silent in the really inciteful days before the assassination.

## HIKE HITCHER

Not a good week for the workers. Inflation hit the 15 percent mark and a new finance minister promising economic edicts was sworn in.

What better time for the Histadrut to rally to the workers' cause? Histadrut Chairman MK Amir Peretz, whose lion, long delayed, had arrived, leaped into action. He demanded activating the cost-of-living increment agreement so that compensation for wage erosion due to inflation could be increased.

Peretz said the Histadrut had agreed with employers that when inflation exceeded 15 percent a year, workers must receive full compensation for price hikes.

But lo, when the agreements were pulled out, it appeared that Peretz and the employers had agreed to increase the compensation only for an inflation rate of more than 15 percent per half year.

Negligent amateur was the most complimentary title Peretz was awarded in trades union circles. "What a schlemiel," was more common.

Why, said union leaders, the employers couldn't have done better themselves to ensure workers' pay doesn't keep step with the soaring price indices.

Soon, they hissed, we'll have employers paying the Histadrut's fees out of their own pockets, just to make sure it survives under the weight of its own ineptitude.

## Notice is hereby given to Stockholders of Y.O.E.L. Jerusalem - Oil Exploration Ltd.

In accordance with the Security Regulations (Bids for Acquisition) 1994 (below: Regulations of Bids for Acquisition) by Mr. David Eliyashiov, Id. No. 001426578 (the Bidder).

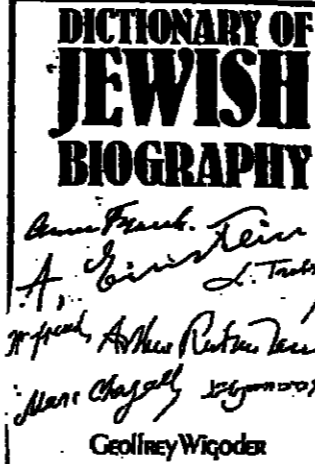
That on June 20, 1996, the bidder submitted to the Securities Regulation Commission, to the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange Ltd., to the Registrar of Corporations, and to Y.O.E.L. Jerusalem Oil Exploration Ltd. ("the Company"), a program of offer of acquisition, according to the specifications of the regulations of offers for acquisition, addressed all the holders of regular stock of NIS 1 of the Company (below: "the stocks"), to acquire from the stockholders 20,920,555 shares in the company, constituting 25% of the total stocks issued and redeemed by the company.

Date of specifications: June 20, 1996.

According to the specifications:

- The bidder is interested to acquire from the stockholders 20,920,555 regular stocks of NIS 1 each of the company, which constitute 25% of the total stocks issued and redeemed by the company.
- The bidder will pay NIS 2.80 (280%) for each 1 shekel whole stock to be acquired by him in the context of the sale purchase offer. The closing price of the stocks on the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange as of June 19, 1996 was NIS 2.27 (227%).
- A precondition of the bidder's commitment to purchase the stocks under the proposal is that the minimum degree of response be no less than 25% of all the stocks offered and redeemed by the company, that is, not less than NIS 20,920,555 regular shekel stocks. Should the degree of response be less than that amount, the bidder is permitted not to acquire any stocks, or to acquire all of the stocks that have been proposed in practise under the conditions of the offer of purchase.
- The offer of purchase will be executed by means of exchange member, the Bank Igud Le-Israel Ltd. (below: coordinator of the offer), by the method detailed in the specifications. The coordinator of the offer will assure the execution of the bidder's obligation to pay the amount specified in the purchase offer.
- One may present statements of acceptability between the hours of 9 a.m. and 2 p.m. on each of the days between June 20 - July 4, 1996 inclusive (date of acceptance).

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Stocks unchanged while new gov't takes hold

TEL AVIV STOCK MARKET

FELICE MARANZ



STOCK indexes were unchanged yesterday, as investors apparently decided to first get a feel for the direction and policies of the new government. The Maof Index fell 0.01 percent, to 214.69, and the Two-Sided Index was unchanged at 203.56.

London market down for third straight day

LONDON (Reuters) - Here is how major stock markets outside the US closed yesterday. LONDON - UK shares dropped for a third day running, dragged lower by weak futures markets and with European bourses suffering from German money supply figures suggesting Bundesbank rate cuts may be over.

Dow closes lower amid computer worries

NEW YORK (AP) - Stocks closed mostly lower with bonds yesterday as technology issues tumbled again amid growing worries about computer-industry profits. On Wall Street, the Dow Jones industrial average rose 11.08 points to close at 5,659.43, but that was down from an opening-bell jump of more than 31 points.

CURRENCY CROSS-RATES table with columns for MARK, STERLING, YEN, SFR, and FFY.

TEL AVIV STOCKS

Main stock market table with columns for Name, Price, Change, Volume, and % Volume. Includes sections for Multi-sided trading and Two-sided trading.

ISRAEL DISCOUNT BANK logo and name

Key Representative Rates: US dollar ... NIS 3.2630 +0.09%, Sterling ... NIS 5.0294 -0.52%, Mark ... NIS 2.1426 -0.29%

Alcatel, Lagardere plan separate bids for Thomson

PARIS (Reuters) - French industrial giants Lagardere and Alcatel Alsthom said yesterday they would each bid for state electronics firm Thomson, but signaled they are not prepared to pay any price.

Disney names Tarses president of ABC entertainment

LOS ANGELES (Reuters) - Walt Disney Co. seeking to boost ratings at its ABC television network, yesterday named former NBC programming executive Jamie Tarses as president of ABC Entertainment.

Oil imports drive up April US trade gap

WASHINGTON (Reuters) - The US trade shortfall with the rest of the world climbed in April, because of a surge in costly oil imports, the Commerce Department said yesterday.

Friends of the Earth opens 'green' energy bank account

LONDON (Reuters) - Investors who want their savings to back so-called "green" energy projects in Britain will from next week be able to open a specially-designed bank account backed by environmental pressure group Friends of the Earth.

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LONDON (Reuters) - Investors who want their savings to back so-called "green" energy projects in Britain will from next week be able to open a specially-designed bank account backed by environmental pressure group Friends of the Earth.

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GENERAL ASSISTANCE

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Jerusalem: Jaffa Gate, 283896; Batsan, Salah e-Din, 272315; Shuaflat, Shuaflat Road, 810108; Dar Aikawa, Herod's Gate, 282058.
Tel Aviv: Bait, 28 King George, 528-3731; Ativa, 165 Otzangot, 522-4717; Ra'anana-Kfar Sava: Doron, 6 Gausa, Ra'anana, 771-6084.

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Immanuel Church (Lutheran), Tel Aviv-Yafo, 15 Beer Hofman (near 17 Elit Street), Tel. 03-8820654 Saturday service 11 a.m. Service in English every Sunday at 11 a.m.

WHERE TO GO

WHERE TO GO
HEBREW UNIVERSITY, Tours of the Mount Scopus campus in English, daily Sun-Thur. 11 a.m. from Bronfman Reception Centre, Sherman Administration Bldg. Buses 48, 9, 23, 26, 28. For info, call 862918.

ART GUIDE

ART GUIDE
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MAN OF THE HOUR - Legendary cricket umpire Dickie Bird (waving) walks onto the pitch to a standing ovation at Lords to officiate at his 66th and final Test.

# Thorpe and Russell rescue England

LONDON (Reuter) - A gritty, unbroken partnership of 131 between Graham Thorpe and Jack Russell rescued England from the brink of disaster and led them to a position of some strength at the close of the first day of the second Test against India at Lord's yesterday.

As the partnership flourished so Russell became more dominant. While Thorpe was content for much of the time to push the quick single and keep his wicket intact for the second day Russell began to take advantage of some tired bowling.

His 50 came up off 88 balls and included five fours and shortly afterwards a classic straight drive off Venkatesh Prasad raised the century partnership.

England first innings: M Atherton lbw b Srinath 20, A Stewart b Srinath 26, N Hussain c Rathore b Ganguly 26, G Thorpe not out 25, G Hick c Srinath b Ganguly 1, Srinath 1, J Russell not out 29, Extras (b 6 b 6 nb 12) 28. Total (for five wickets) 228.

# Debutant Croatia stands in Germany's way

## England waits for Spain in quarter-finals

LONDON (AP) - With World Cup runner up Italy out of the way, Germany has become a stronger favorite than ever to win the European Championship for the third time.

Scorers: Shearer (4), Sheringham (2), Gascoigne. Yellow cards: Ince (2), Paul Adams, Gary Neville, Shearer, Sheringham, Gareth Southgate.

Spain has ground its way to the last eight with three unimpressive performances, 1-1 ties with Bulgaria and France and a 2-1 victory over the Romanians.

Portugal managed to convert their attractive, well-organized passing game into goals by downing the Croats and are rewarded with a game at Villa Park Sunday against the Czech Republic, who needed a last minute equalizer in a 3-3 against the Russians to eliminate powerhouse Italy.

Scorers: Christophe Dugarry, Djorkaeff, Blanc, Parice Loko and an own goal. Yellow cards: Eric De Meco, Blanc, Desailly, Dugarry.

At Villa Park the Italians meant the Croats didn't have to pack their bags early. Then came a 3-3 tie with the Russians which involved a spectacular mid-game slump from 2-0 up to 3-2 down followed by a late rally for the equalizer.

# Bulls sign coach to new contract

DEERFIELD, Ill. (Reuter) - The NBA champion Chicago Bulls re-signed coach Phil Jackson to a one-year contract valued at \$2 million, according to broadcast reports yesterday.

who has been quoted as saying he deserves \$18m to \$20m per season up from around \$4m currently, has said he would not stay in Chicago without Jackson.

Another key ingredient of the team's success this season, madcap rebounder Dennis Rodman, was also adamant about playing for Jackson and planned on asking for \$7m to \$10m per season in his new contract.

# Smoltz chalks up 14th straight win

ATLANTA (AP) - John Smoltz set a franchise record with his 14th straight win, a two-hitter in a 5-1 victory over the San Diego Padres that gave the Atlanta Braves a sweep of the three-game series.



GREAT BALLS OF FIRE - Atlanta's pitching ace John Smoltz throws another high hard one during Wednesday's game.

In the opener, starting pitcher Jason Isringhausen put New York up 5-2 with a two-run homer, only to help give the lead back with two throwing errors in Pittsburgh's two-run sixth.

# Renault to withdraw from Grand Prix

PARIS (Reuter) - Renault, the French car manufacturer whose engines have powered Williams and Benetton teams to the last four constructors' world championships, announced yesterday they are to withdraw from Formula One at the end of 1997.

### SPORTS BRIEFS

**Shortstop** - The national baseball team's shortstop, Luis Figueroa, was named MVP of the 1996 World Series.

**Master OULU** - The 1996 World Series MVP, Oulun, was named MVP of the 1996 World Series.

**Wings** - The 1996 World Series MVP, Wings, was named MVP of the 1996 World Series.

### NATIONAL LEAGUE

East Division	W	L	Pct.	GB
Atlanta	44	26	.629	-
Montreal	40	30	.571	4
Florida	33	38	.463	11 1/2
New York	31	39	.443	13
Philadelphia	29	40	.420	14 1/2

### Central Division

W	L	Pct.	GB	
St. Louis	35	34	.507	-
Houston	36	37	.493	1
Chicago	32	38	.453	3
Pittsburgh	33	38	.463	3
Cincinnati	28	39	.418	4 1/2

### West Division

W	L	Pct.	GB	
Los Angeles	39	33	.542	-
Colorado	36	33	.522	1 1/2
San Francisco	38	33	.532	1 1/2
San Diego	37	36	.514	2

Cardinals 3, Phillies 2  
Brian Jordan made a game-saving catch in the top of the ninth inning, then doubled and scored in the bottom half as host St. Louis picked up its fifth straight victory.

Dodgers 4, Cubs 3  
Winning pitcher Chan Ho Park - batting because visiting Los Angeles was out of position players - drew a decisive bases-loaded walk in the 13th inning.

### AMERICAN LEAGUE

East Division	W	L	Pct.	GB
New York	39	28	.582	-
Baltimore	38	31	.557	3
Toronto	36	30	.542	10 1/2
Boston	29	40	.420	11
Detroit	18	53	.254	23

### Central Division

W	L	Pct.	GB	
Cleveland	45	24	.652	-
Chicago	41	28	.594	4
Minnesota	34	35	.493	11
St. Louis	33	35	.486	11 1/2
Kansas City	31	41	.431	15 1/2

### West Division

W	L	Pct.	GB	
Texas	37	27	.574	-
Seattle	37	32	.538	6
California	30	33	.476	8
Oakland	33	38	.465	10 1/2

Final Standings  
A Division: Zionsville 20, 1, .852, 0; Bob's Boys 17, 4, .810, 3; Normans 13, 8, .615, 7; Shei's Furniture 14, 8, .638, 7; Arch Seminars 12, 9, .571, 8; Erny Richards 9, 12, .429, 11; Shei's Barber 8, 15, .346, 14.

B Division: Ashik Chama 10, 11, .476, 0; Her Media 9, 12, .429, 1; Vision Center 8, 13, .381, 2; Kala Plaza 7, 14, .333, 3; Kibbutz Gesser 5, 15, .250, 4; Hecatt Benny 5, 16, .238, 4.

Playoffs - Quarterfinals: Zionsville beat Normans; Bob's Boys beat Arch Seminars; Shei's Barber beat Erny Richards; Normans beat Zionsville; Shei's Barber beat Bob's Boys.

# Police bust 'biggest' Russian crime ring

BILL HUTMAN

WHAT is said to be the biggest "Russian mafia" bust ever made here, part of an international case involving crimes ranging from forgery and prostitution to drug deals and murder, was revealed by the police yesterday.

Twenty-eight persons have been detained so far, and more arrests are expected, according to investi-

gations head Cmdr. Yossi Levy. Levy said most of those detained are immigrants from the Commonwealth of Independent States.

Levy said the suspects, arrested over the past several weeks, are connected to an international crime ring based in Russia, that also operates in several European countries. Police in several European states helped the Israel Police's Serious Crimes Division in the investigation.

The suspects are part of "the first criminal ring connected to international crime in the CIS that has been uncovered here," said Levy, adding that the arrests "show that the police were correct last year in setting up a special unit to deal with international crime."

Police prefer the term "international crime" over "mafia," because the latter implies criminal activity that has penetrated the ruling establishment - which is not the case in Israel, but is allegedly the case in the CIS.

The gang members are suspected of bribery, fraud, and forgery, mainly connected to the distribution of illegal documents, ranging from credit cards to IDF discharge sheets.

A former senior Interior Ministry worker was arrested last month in connection with the case.

The suspects may also be connected with several murders in Europe resulting from fights over turf among international crime gangs. They are also suspected of other criminal activity abroad, including drug trading and prostitution, according to the Israel Police.

"We believe the gang uncovered here is just a small link in a larger chain controlled in the CIS, and which has connections all over Europe," Levy said.

Police said the gang arranged fictitious marriages with Israeli women from the CIS for CIS men who wanted Israeli citizenship, often for criminal purposes. New immigrant women were paid some \$2,000 to go abroad and marry the men.

Russian criminals look to Israel as a prime location for laundering money, and having Israeli citizenship makes it easier to operate here, according to police.

Dozens of men were granted Israeli citizenship on the basis of the fictitious marriages, and the Interior Ministry is working with police to find those involved. The Military Police and the Income Tax and Customs authorities are also helping in the investigation.



Justice Minister Ya'acov Ne'eman at a ceremony yesterday for newly accredited lawyers, held at Jerusalem's Teddy Stadium. (Ariel Jeruzolimski)

## Ne'eman: We must strive for justice, peace

EVELYN GORDON

JUSTICE and peace are the two values without which the world cannot exist, and which we must therefore strive for, Justice Minister Ya'acov Ne'eman said yesterday, in his first address as a minister.

Speaking at a ceremony for newly accredited lawyers, Ne'eman said the importance of the law in human life can be seen from the fact that administering justice is one of the seven Noahide laws which, according to the Torah, are incumbent upon all the nations of the world.

However, he said, a legal system is not just the establishment of norms. "It is not enough to set norms," he said. "These norms must be based on justice, righteousness and non-discrimination."

The key to a proper system of law, he continued, is respect for human dignity, since man was created in God's image. Israel's legal system gives expression to this value through the Basic Law: Human Dignity and Freedom, he said.

He then quoted Rashi's statement that "if there is no peace, there is nothing at all. Therefore, peace is worth everything." "I wish for all of us that we will see peace in our day - peace among ourselves, and also peace with our enemies," he concluded.

## Bodinger: Arab missiles pose potent threat

"THE most significant development in our region has been the obtaining of ground-to-ground missiles by Arab countries, including their ability to produce such missiles themselves," OC Air Force Maj.-Gen. Herzl Bodinger said yesterday.

He was speaking at a news conference marking his taking leave of the air force after 35 years of service, the last four and a half as its commander.

Bodinger pointed to Iran and Syria as having the largest missile arsenals. He also cited Iraq, whose missile arsenal has supposedly been removed by international sanctions.

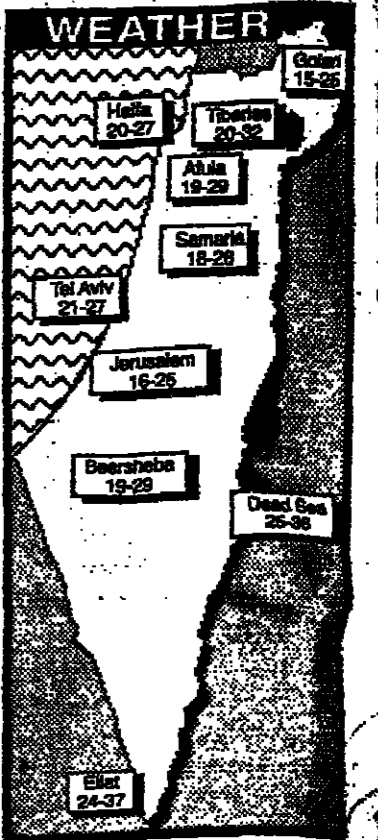
"For the first time since 1948, Arab countries have the ability to hit any point within Israel," he said, adding that this was proven during the Scud attacks of the Gulf War.

"If there were to be a total war against Israel," he said, "we would be hit by hundreds of ground-to-ground missiles."

As an answer to the problem, Bodinger said that in recent years, the air force has greatly improved its ability to carry out long-range attacks.

The most advanced F-15s, which will reach the air force within the next year, will increase this ability even more.

Jerusalem Post Staff



Forecast: Partly cloudy to clear. Drop in temperatures. Shabbat: No change in temperatures.

Table titled 'AROUND THE WORLD' showing temperatures in Celsius and Fahrenheit for various global locations including Amsterdam, Buenos Aires, Chicago, Copenhagen, Geneva, Hong Kong, London, Los Angeles, Madrid, Moscow, New York, Paris, Rome, Stockholm, and Sydney.

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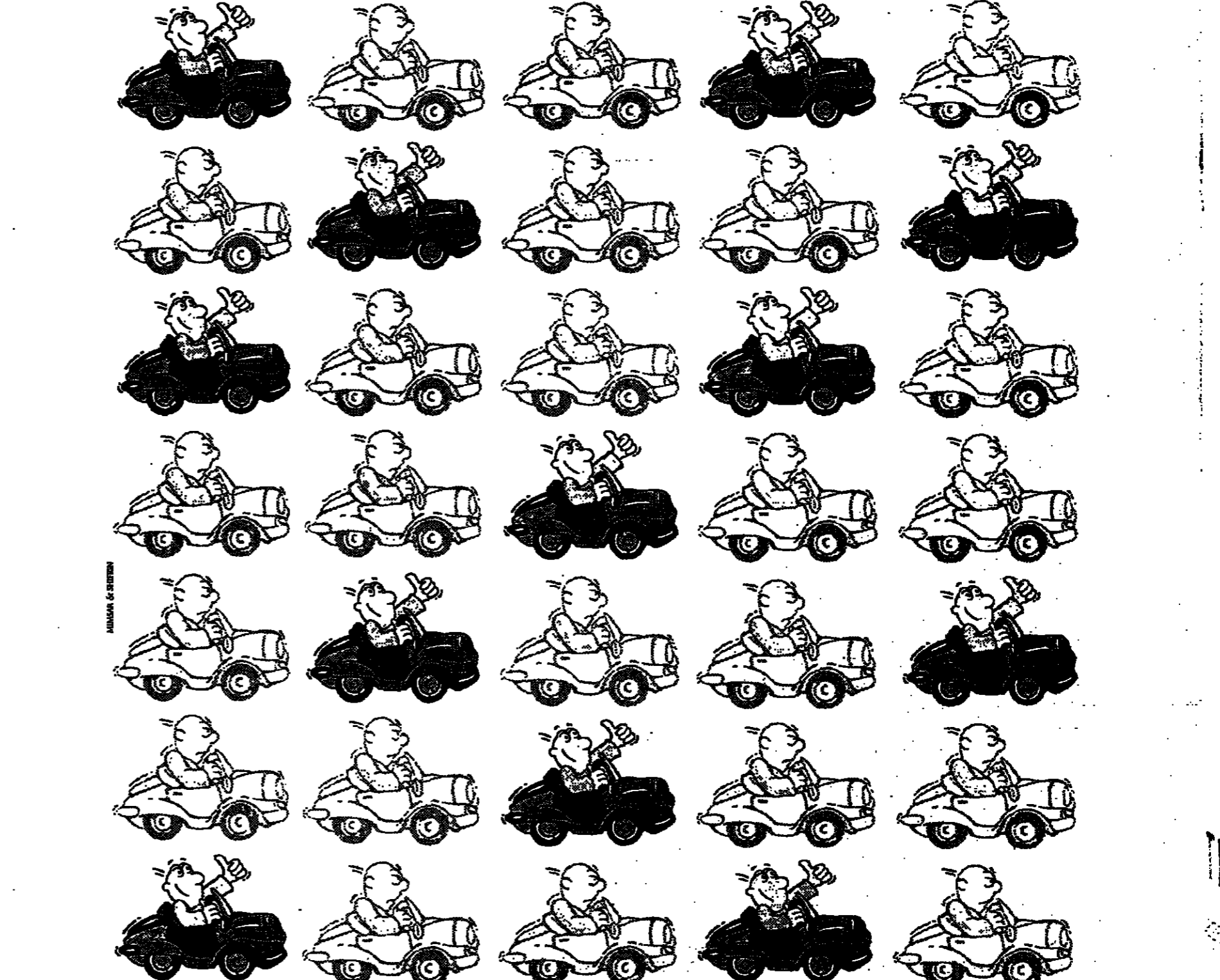
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STERNMATTZKY INTERNATIONAL BESTSELLERS IN PAPERBACK. THE HORSE WALKER BY NICHOLAS EVANS. THE LOST WORLD BY MICHAEL CRICHTON. FROM POTTER'S HERBARIUM BY PATRICIA CORNWELL. A PLACE CALLED FREEDOM BY KEN FOLLETT.

Kahalani: Separation plan will continue, depending on policy. INTERNAL Security Minister Avigdor Kahalani said yesterday that he intends to continue with his predecessor's separation plan between Israel and the territories, "but with a few changes and dependent on government policy." Kahalani made the remark on his first official tour of the central district's Green Line area, where he was shown the plan initiated by predecessor Moshe Shahal. He said he would continue with the plan in the area stretching around 70 kilometers from Latrun in the south to Baka al-Gharbiya in the north. Starting off in the incomplete settlement of Matan, where around 45 families have settled some 100 meters from the Arab village of Habla, Kahalani was given detailed explanations of the area's problems. A three-meter-high, 11-kilometer-long wall is to be erected between Habla and Matan, on top of which will be a fence, equipped with electronic sensors and cameras to avoid any conflict between the two sides and to prevent infiltration. "The concept of separation is a correct one but the plan depends on government policies," said Kahalani. "Terror will not stop in the near future, but we must have a system of monitoring and control and provide police with the necessary means to operate." Two other potential trouble spots have been designated for similar fencing: Bat Hefer and near Kalkilya. Regarding the closure of the territories, Kahalani said that from "a humanitarian point of view, the sealing of the territories should be eased to give the Palestinians an opportunity to work in Israel."



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